

JPRS-NEA-94-020
29 April 1994



**FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE**

JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

Near East & South Asia

JPRS-NEA-94-020

CONTENTS

29 April 1994

NEAR EAST

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Hebron Factionalism, Criticism of 'Arafat [Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR 1 Apr]	1
Future of West Bank Agriculture Discussed [Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI 26 Feb]	3
Journalists on Press Freedom Under Autonomy [Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI 26 Feb]	7

ALGERIA

Trade Prospects With Japan 'Good' [ALGER REPUBLICAIN 17 Mar]	8
Reaction to Killing of Abdelkader Alloula [ALGER REPUBLICAIN 16 Mar]	8
Open Letter to Zeroual on Increased Bloodshed [ALGER REPUBLICAIN 9 Mar]	9
New Combined Offensive: Commander 'Dismissed' [LIBERTE 29 Mar]	10
Negotiations With Islamists; Positions Analyzed [EL WATAN 2 Apr]	10
GIA Leaders: Sayeh Attia Reportedly 'Wounded' [ALGERIE ACTUALITE 4 Apr]	12
Country of 'Despair'; Dying for Nothing [EL WATAN 5 Mar]	13
Citizens Question Government Inaction [EL WATAN 7 Mar]	13
Females as 'Terrorist' Victims Discussed [EL WATAN 8 Mar]	14
Kouba: Citizens Called on To Arm Themselves [ALGER REPUBLICAIN 1 Mar]	16
Life in Blida; Citizens Held Hostage [EL WATAN 10 Mar]	16
New Book Analyzes Present Situation, Causes [ALGER REPUBLICAIN 16 Mar]	17
Citizens Organize To 'Defend Republic' [ALGER REPUBLICAIN 18-19 Mar]	18
Higher Fuel Prices Show Up at Pump [EL WATAN 9 Mar]	19
Sonatrach: Plans To Modernize Discussed [EL WATAN 16 Mar]	19
Figures on Births, Marriages, Work, Housing [ALGERIE ACTUALITE 7 Feb]	20
Projected Receipts From Hydrocarbons Down [EL WATAN 2 Mar]	22
New Customs Regulations Explained [LIBERTE 9 Feb]	23

EGYPT

Social, Political Tensions in Asyut Favor Terrorism	24
Political Scene Reviewed [AL-AHRAM 30 Mar]	24
Leadership Crisis Detailed [AL-MUSAWWAR 1 Apr]	27
Minister on Treating Local Government Corruption [AL-AKHBAR 16 Mar]	30

IRAQ

Al-Chalabi Calls Iraqi Regime Threat to Regional Security [London AL-HAYAH 11 Feb]	32
--	----

ISRAEL

Analysis of 'Russian Return' to Middle East [HATZOFE 22 Mar]	34
Hebron Seen as Foreshadowing Jerusalem Talks [DAVAR 21 Mar]	36
Evacuation of Jews or Arabs From Hebron Urged [HA'ARETZ 21 Mar]	37
Background on Tel Rumayda Settlement in Hebron [HA'ARETZ 21 Mar]	38
Columnist Argues for Jewish Evacuation of Hebron [DAVAR 22 Mar]	38
Course of Religious Zionism, NRP Examined [HATZOFE 11 Mar]	39

SUDAN

'Extermination' of Nubians Detailed [London AL-MAJALLAH 13 Mar]	40
---	----

TUNISIA

- Al-Nahdah Leadership Denies Arms Smuggling Accusations [London AL-HAYAH 15 Apr] 41

REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

- Salih Accused of Instigating Unrest [Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI 4 Mar] 42

SOUTH ASIA

INDIA

- U.S. Move on F-16s Seen Against National Interest [AJ 26 Mar] 44
U.S. Offer of F-16s to Pakistan Criticized [AJ 30 Mar] 44
Purpose Behind U.S. Manipulation of GATT Viewed [JANSATTA 29 Mar] 45
Moynihan Meets With Dinesh Singh, Addresses Panel [THE TIMES OF INDIA 17 Feb] 46
Rao Visit to U.S. Questioned [JANSATTA 23 Mar] 47
Singh Meets With Belgian Foreign Minister [THE TIMES OF INDIA 12 Feb] 47
French Senate Delegation Meets Press [THE HINDU 13 Feb] 48
Analyst on Stability of Relations With PRC [THE HINDU 7 Feb] 49
Relations With China Seen Improving [NAV BHARAT TIMES 14 Mar] 51
Pakistan's Activities in Sri Lanka Protested [THE HINDU 11 Feb] 52
Paper Alleges ISI Efforts To Recruit Ahmadyia Youth [THE HINDUSTAN TIMES 15 Apr] 52
Mutual Curbs on Indian, Pakistani Envoys Deplored [THE HINDU 5 Feb] 53
First Ambassador to South Africa Appointed [THE TIMES OF INDIA 10 Feb] 54
European Union Leaders Briefed on Kashmir [THE HINDU 10 Feb] 54
Red Cross Given Permission To Visit Kashmir [THE HINDU 11 Feb] 55
Stand on Kashmir Fact-Finding Mission Told [THE HINDU 8 Feb] 56
Arjun Singh Opposing GATT signing [JANSATTA 1 Apr] 56
Manmohan Addresses Human Rights Commission [THE HINDU 4 Feb] 57
Contempt Notices Issued to Advani, Others [THE TIMES OF INDIA 5 Feb] 58
Arjun Singh Said Continuing Self-Promotion Campaign [NAV BHARAT TIMES 1 Apr] 58
Minister Rules Out Privatization of Doordarshan [THE HINDU 8 Mar] 59
Reporters Briefed on CPI National Council Meet [DECCAN CHRONICLE 13 Feb] 59
BJP Seen Ready To Give Janata Dal Tough Fight in Bihar [JANSATTA 31 Mar] 60
Confusion Seen Surrounding Madhya Pradesh Administration [JANSATTA 17 Mar] 61
Janata Dal-Ajit Merges With Samajwadi Party [THE HINDU 8 Feb] 63
Janata Dal Still Fracturing, Mulayam Singh Gaining [JANSATTA 30 Mar] 64
BSP Seen Causing Mulayam Singh Government Headaches [JANSATTA 12 Mar] 64
Goals, Ideology of BSP Examined 65
 Kansi, Mayavati Key Players [AJ 16 Mar] 65
 Excludes Legacy of Gandhi [JANSATTA 31 Mar] 66
 Strategy Viewed [AJ 16 Mar] 67
Communists Seen Unnerved by Casteist Politics [ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA 1 Apr] 68
Rising Prices Bring Halt in Cotton Exports [THE HINDU 9 Feb] 70

PAKISTAN

- Government Urged To Reject U.S. Aid, Dictates [JASARAT 11 Mar] 70
Controversy Over F-16 Planes Viewed [JANG 7 May] 71
U.S. 'Jewish Commandos' Said Conducting Secret Operation [JASARAT 9 Mar] 71
Chinese Designs on Kashmir Claimed [MASHRIQ 9 Mar] 71
Former ISI Director Claims Army's Existence Based on Kashmir [TAKBEER 3 Mar] 73
Reconciliation Urged in Sindh [JASARAT 10 Mar] 76
Counterfeit Dollars, Rupees Manufactured in Tribal Areas [JANG 3 Mar] 77
Editorial Urges Continuation of Nuclear Technology [JANG 20 Mar] 77
Military Expenditure Level Viewed [JANG 12 Mar] 78

PALESTINIAN AFFAIRS

Hebron Factionalism, Criticism of 'Arafat

94AA0060A Tel Aviv 'AL HAMISHMAR in Hebrew
1 Apr 94 pp 2-3, '0

[Article by Pinhas 'Inbari]

[Text] Reports from Cairo, that Israel and the PLO are close to signing an agreement on introduction of a Palestinian police force in Hebron along with an international force, for the most part have been welcomed in Israel, accompanied by the sense that a breakthrough has been made. Only in Hebron, the object of this joy, was the news greeted with skepticism. So far as can be determined, it seems that the Palestinian police will not be met with the celebrations that were held for returning prisoners. The rivers of blood shed by residents of the city during confrontations with settlers and clashes with the IDF [Israel Defense Forces], the continuing curfew and the dire economic situation are just one side of the terrible anguish that, in the wake of the slaughter in the Cave of Makhpela, is the legacy of these times. Yet it appears that the worst is still to come. Not only have they yet to pay the full price of the burden of life under the occupation with settlers malevolently close by, but they are also now threatened by the ugly specter of civil war.

Mustafa 'Abd A-nabi Natshe, Hebron's deposed mayor and one of PLO leader Yasir 'Arafat's prominent supporters, was very careful this week. Natshe, a candidate to return and take back leadership of the city, hinted without saying so outright that he prefers to operate by other means, without a police force. "I still do not know what the extent of my authority will be or how authority will be split between the city, Israel and the international force," he said cautiously. In any event, he hopes to work through political and civic means. The issue of settlement in Hebron must be the first item for discussion on the agenda. "Whenever a settler attacks a city resident, I will demand that Israel take action against him," he stressed.

Like the great majority of Hebron's inhabitants, Natshe blames Israel for creating an atmosphere inappropriate to the peace talks. For instance, the steps taken in the city center, closing it down to prevent friction between Hebronites and settlers, is choking the entire city. It is impossible, he says, that the settlers should commit a massacre and the residents have to pay the price. Contrary to reports about removal of the settlers, he adds, another four settler families entered the "Abraham our Father" zone immediately after the curfew was lifted.

Attorney Husayn a-Shyukhi is one of Hebron's leading political activists and known to be close to 'Arafat. Precisely for that reason, the positions openly expressed by someone of his standing have to set off red lights in Tunis. Says a-Shyukhi: "The massacre in the Cave of Makhpela and the horrors that followed in Hebron have been like an earthquake that has fundamentally changed the terms that prevailed before that. No one today can

foresee the future without making mistakes or errors in judgment. The Palestinian street in general, and in Hebron in particular, no longer accepts the rules made in Oslo, and even those who supported the Oslo agreements, and after that the Cairo agreements, now demand that they be changed, especially the principle of dividing the negotiations into two stages. The questions of settlement, Jerusalem and the Cave of Makhpela have forced themselves onto the terms of discussion and cannot be put off any longer. In other words, not Gaza and Jericho first but all the territories now have to be on the negotiating table."

To grasp how someone in the central stream of 'Arafat supporters can speak that way, one has to understand political developments in Hebron immediately after the massacre, in particular the rising tension in most parts of Hebron and, within them, between people known over the years as 'Arafat supporters and the Tunis leadership. Right after the massacre, the people of Hebron tried to establish a central institution without a leader, the "Emergency Committee," to unite the city's organizations and represent all the political streams on an equal footing. The Emergency Committee, however, did not catch on and, by all appearances, the two major political forces, Hamas [Islamic Resistance Movement] and Fatah, tried to take the city's reins of leadership during its black hour of trial. Hamas gained the upper hand. The families of the murdered preferred to establish a committee led by someone from Hamas that would deal with their concerns. Hamas and Fatah set up separate commissions of inquiry. Apparently, the Hamas commission won greater cooperation from the people of Hebron than did the Fatah commission.

Hamas was aided not just by Hebron's extraordinary piety, and not just by the widespread opinion that the massacre was perpetrated due to the peace talks with the PLO, in which attention was given solely to the security needs of the settlers while the PLO ignored the security needs of the Palestinians, but also by Hamas' success in concealing its differences in opinion and working in harmony while the PLO spoke in two voices in a way that projected confusion and internal divisions. One group in Fatah was composed of well-known political people such as Natshe, the deposed mayor, and Fa'iz Qawasme, the brother of the expelled mayor, Fahd Qawasme, who was murdered in exile in Rabat Amon. They tried to join up with members of the Palestinian delegation headquartered in Orient House and forged ties to the head of the Palestinian negotiating team in Washington, Sa'ib 'Eraqat, who was then in east Jerusalem because Husayni had gone to Tunis.

A second group, led by 'Abas Zaki, who openly opposes 'Arafat's policies, is linked to the western sector of Rabat Amon. This group has shown itself stronger and would like to collaborate with Hamas and representatives of the refusal organizations. The internal struggle sharpened when, on March 21, 'Arafat appointed the "Hebron District Council," a large body of 73 (some say 85) members that is supposed to take control of the area,

similar to the center in Orient House. At the head of this body, 'Arafat put 'Ali Qawasme, a Fatah activist close to Husayni. Hamas, the refusal organizations and the 'Abas Zaki wing in Fatah instantly realized the significance of the appointments to the district council and announced their opposition the same day.

The surprise came from those people who were expected to stand with 'Arafat on the day of reckoning. Nabil J'abari, a central Fatah activist who had represented 'Arafat in Hebron for years and been a member of the Palestinian delegation to both Madrid and Washington, was included on the district council list as a matter of course. The next day, however, he published a paid-for announcement on the front page of AL-QUDS, declaring that he rejected the appointment because: "Our people are now capable of discussion and elections. The people of the Hebron district can devise a lawful and popularly based body to look after their interests and rights. The idea behind the appointments...is one we reject."

Muhmad Horanif, one of the leading activists in the Fatah wing that supports 'Arafat, announced the day after the appointments that "the council has been frozen." 'Arafat's inability to appoint a council raised grave questions about his ability to rule in Hebron. A-Shyukhi: "I can state without a doubt that the Palestinian leadership does not exercise any control in the Hebron region because it has lost all its credibility. Its assets amount to less than 1 percent. Chairman 'Arafat decided to set up the council but used methods that are not acceptable to us, dictates from above that gave priority to a certain sector and overlooked others. The result was that he was forced to rescind his decision one day after he made it. If he changed his decision hours after making it, he has to change all his calculations. The council he set up ignored all the fighters, all the Palestinian organizations, all the political parties and entire neighborhoods in Hebron even though they are the parts of town that have struggled the most. Similarly, there was no representation for whole villages, such as Tarqumiya, Shyukh, Samo'a, Beit-'Awa and Nuba."

J'abari's words brings to the fore one of the most important disputes between Tunis and PLO supporters in the territories, the nature of the future Palestinian entity. While 'Arafat seeks to appoint his loyalists to key posts, the political leadership demands elections. 'Arafat has already attempted to name Mansur Shawa mayor of Gaza but a coalition made up of a majority of the political forces in the city foiled his plans. The failure in Gaza is threatening to recur in Hebron. There is growing opposition in the territories to the parameters laid down in Oslo heedless of the leadership of the territories.

On 25 March, the day marked for the Cairo agreements permitting resumption of the talks, representatives of a majority of the organizations and groups, some 100 persons, convened in Hebron. What they decided is unknown. A-Shyukhi describes the general atmosphere. "Community activists in Hebron are against continuing

with 'Arafat's methods. They feel that he has to distinguish between the stage of rule and the stage of revolution. The stage of creating a government requires certain tactics, the stage of administration and revolution requires others. 'Arafat does not separate the stage of revolution from the stage of rule and administration. You can see this as well in the way he has conducted the negotiations with Israel. The Palestinians were on a lower level, and the Palestinian delegation could not stand up to the terms and issues set by Israel and the United States, which were on a higher level. Every round of the negotiations was without experts and everything depended on one person ('Arafat). Resumption of the talks in the same manner definitely will lead to failure and a dead end. Likewise, UN Resolution 904 cannot serve as a basis for renewal of the talks because it does not include the minimum Palestinian demands.

"I am amazed that the talks with Israel are resuming on the basis of sending police to Hebron. What Hebron needs today is not police. It has been under curfew for a month, its economy is collapsing, unemployment is growing, and with that there is hunger. Hebron needs industry and revival of its social and economic institutions, not police—even if it were to mean 100,000 police officers. IDF operations in Hebron against Hamas, in which the IDF has mobilized the best of its men and its most advanced technology, prove that a Palestinian police force is not the answer to our needs and will solve nothing. It will not prevent the next massacre. Can a Palestinian policeman impose a curfew on Qiryat Arb'a? Will the Palestinian police be able to stop a single one of the settlers' children? The police are not and never have been the solution. The solution is not to continue the talks on the basis of establishing a police force but to discard the principle of two stages and to bring Palestinian experts into the talks. I am puzzled by Rabin. His peace with 'Arafat will be the peace of men but not of nations, and will have no value. True peace is one of trust and convincing the Palestinian people that they have, indeed, realized their dreams. Any other peace will lead to two nations beset by tragedy and further bloodshed."

A-Shyukhi emphasizes that he cannot be considered an opponent of 'Arafat or of the peace process. On the contrary, "I am for peace and striving for peace, but on the basis of Palestinian national unity and within a framework that will be acceptable to most of the people without coercion from above. But events have laid bare the fact that the frameworks in which the talks are being conducted have been exhausted. Even leaders of the delegation such as Husayni, 'Arafat and Abd A-Shafi demand new frameworks and formulas that will place Hebron, Jerusalem and the settlements at the top of the agenda.

"I admire and greatly respect Chairman 'Arafat. He is the symbol of Palestine. He has dedicated his life to his people and independence. I am convinced that he is trying to get the maximum for the Palestinian people. But the route he is taking and his way of working will not

bring him to realization of his goals. So I am calling for him to take a break of 24 hours, to get away from the pressures, the slogans and the faxes, and think in quiet about the way to get out of this dead end. I know that many leaders do this. During World War II, Churchill did not forsake his weekly holiday. I saw 'Arafat some months ago in Tunis. I felt sorry for him. He was utterly exhausted. The tremendous effort he is making is wearing him out. Whatever I have said is for his benefit so he can look after himself. 'Arafat also has to change the numbers of people in the territories and listen to what the strong are saying—not the weak. I want 'Arafat to consider what I am saying as a kind of open letter to him, to pay attention to what people are saying."

For all that, A-Shyukhi's observations on the Palestinian police are unequivocal. "In Hebron, Abu 'Amar ('Arafat) sees the police as a branch of the Border Patrol. I think that will lead all the officers to resign. Even Antoine Lahad's position in South Lebanon is better, since he at least has an army under his command. The Palestinian police will be under Israeli control. 'Arafat has to know not only how to talk with Rabin and [Gen. Amnon] Shabag but with the young men of Fatah and the national streams such as the National Front, the Democratic [Front] and Hamas. 'Arafat's arrival in Jericho before he comes to an understanding with the Palestinians and arranges a framework of national unity will convert the Palestinian police into an instrument of repression, and I am sure that it will refuse to act as a repressive force."

One complication involving the police is the need to make changes in the city. Natshe was deposed in 1973 and, since 1976, the city has been administered by an Israeli official—a friend of the settlers, of course. This year, according to a secret agreement between Israel and Jordan, city leaders acceptable to both countries were appointed, among them the current mayor, 'Abd al-Majid a-Zir. The Democratic Front's Hebron branch immediately declared its opposition to the isolated actions of appointing Zir and holding elections in Hebron. The Democratic Front announced in a poster on 28 March that without restoring all deposed mayors, it would be impossible to return Natshe to his post. The Democratic Front's reason—the dean of mayors elected in 1976, Basam Shakh'a of Shehem, belongs to the refusal front and the Democratic Front does not accept a situation in which only those mayors who support 'Arafat, and none of his opponents, are reinstated. Thus, the complications in Hebron are also spreading at least to Shehem.

A-Shyukhi concludes, "The Tunis leadership's treatment of the events in Hebron, the massacre and its ramifications have raised a high wall between it and the entire Hebron district. The public in Hebron hoped that the leadership would pay close attention to the city's mood. We were amazed by remarks made by Nabil Sha'at that the Palestinian police will protect certain people in Hebron and certain institutions that were not in danger in the past and will not be in the future. Would even

1,000 Palestinian policemen have prevented Goldstein and his confederates from [perpetrating] the massacre in Hebron?"

[Box, p 3]

Waiting for 'Arafat in Gaza

People in Israel are attuned to the tense atmosphere in Hebron and the steep decline in support for 'Arafat. A senior Israeli defense official says that Israel hopes that the PLO leader's arrival in the territories will be accompanied by displays of rejoicing and euphoria that will change the national mood. 'Arafat also will bring money with him, hand out sinecures and have a police force, which will enable him to tilt the balance in his favor. The arrival of the international force also will impart a feeling of a change for the better.

While buds of opposition to 'Arafat are sprouting on the West Bank and in Hebron, the picture is different in Gaza. There, in Hamas' stronghold, ironically, movement towards 'Arafat has been noted. Gazans are waiting for a change and the arrangements with Israeli are giving them a new chance, the defense official said. But he made these comments before the unfortunate incident in which IDF soldiers killed six Fatah Hawks in Gaza. It still is not clear how the agreements on the Palestinian police will be greeted in Gaza. [end box]

Future of West Bank Agriculture Discussed

94AF0143A Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI
in Arabic 26 Feb 94 pp 5-8

[Article by Hasan Rub'i]

[Text] They do not live on Mars or any other planet. They live among us. The calls for help issuing from their throats deafen our ears. Yet, we do nothing to rescue them even though we can. Rather we definitely can rescue them.

Their hearts beat with their love for the land on which they have grown up and into which their roots strike deeply, defying all the endeavors to uproot them.

They defy despair. A blow that does not kill them makes them cling to the soil more tenaciously. They muster whatever strength they continue to have and they move forward pace by pace, defying the despair toward which they are led by the occupation policies and by kinsmen's negligence, which is even more painful and which has surpassed all bounds and exceeded all imagination. Their will is the strong rock, which stands as a firm barrier in the face of all endeavors to break their sacred bond with the land. This land, whose soil has been mixed with the sweat of their brow, is everything to them. It is the air they breathe and the blood that runs in their veins and gives them life. It is the forefathers' will, and it is the homeland over which they dream of establishing their sovereignty, as all other simple peoples do. These people are the Palestinian farmers who live under harsh and

difficult circumstances, which no other sector could endure, especially in light of the negligence and of injustice to which they are subjected by all the sides that are supposed to aid them, to help alleviate their hardship, and to curtail the immense losses they incur every season, particularly since they constitute more than 30 percent of the West Bank and Gaza Strip population!

What is the real condition of the Palestinian agricultural sector today? What are the most significant obstacles facing this sector, almost dealing it fatal blows?

Why is this sector subjected more than other sectors to immense losses in most, not to say all, seasons right before the eyes and within earshot of the people concerned who have undertaken to protect and support it?

Moreover, what do farmers themselves say about the real conditions under which they live and the losses they incur?

Finally, how do farmers see the future of agriculture in the occupied territories, and is there hope that these conditions will improve?

This is what AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI will show in this investigative report through which we dot the i's and cross the t's with utter objectivity and without allowing ourselves to be carried away by our imagination in the issue of Palestinian farmers and the future of Palestinian agriculture in the occupied territories.

Facts and Pains

A most significant problem that encounters a journalist when he is gathering the material necessary for this or that report, especially in the occupied territories, is the scarcity of accurate figures and statistics on cultivated acreage, for example; on the number of workers in this sector; on the annual yield of this or that basic crop on which our farmer relies fundamentally; on the irrigated acreage and the volume of water needed to irrigate this acreage; and on dryland farming acreage. Such figures and statistics are scarce despite the presence of hundreds, not to say thousands, of agricultural associations and organizations that have been founded in the occupied territories to serve this sector in the first place, to attend to its affairs, and to deal with its problems. But it seems that those in charge of this sector do not, very regrettably, take the trouble to conduct the necessary studies in this regard. If they conduct a few such studies, they rely for their data on studies conducted by the other [Israeli] side, which always distorts the facts, especially in connection with land issues. Moreover, it is almost impossible to get the data from government agricultural offices that have such data because of laws that prohibit officials from dealing with the press. Fortunate is the journalist who manages to interview the press spokesman for one of these offices, after a pursuit of several months at least. In most cases, it is impossible to get such an interview for a variety of reasons, some of which we ourselves create and some beyond our control.

Like the Palestinian people's other sectors, the Palestinian agricultural sector has been targeted primarily since the start of the Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. This sector has encountered a great degree of harassment and pressures. Obstacles have been placed in the path of its development through dozens of military directives that have sought to diminish and wipe out this sector, especially since it signifies a lot. Before anything else, this sector signifies the land over which the struggle revolves between two peoples, each of whom tries to assert its historical right to this land.

Objective Is Disengagement

Since the start of occupation, the authorities have employed numerous means to break the strong bond between the Palestinian and his land, to which he clings as he clings to life. Thousands of arable dunums of land have been used for settlement, military, and public purposes. The area of land seized by Israel since 1967 is 2.2 million dunums, i.e., 40 percent of the West Bank land, which has a total area of 5.5 million dunums. This is in addition to thousands of other dunums that have been confiscated and on which no accurate statistics are available. The latest such act was the announcement made just a few days after conclusion of the declaration of principles in Washington about the confiscation of 5,000 dunums to establish natural protectorates in the West Bank!

Moreover, the authorities have prevented farmers from drilling artesian wells to irrigate crops so as to ensure that the cultivated area does not expand and to prevent the reclamation of new lands after the water necessary for irrigation becomes available. These authorities have employed as pretext in this regard the Jordanian law, which they use whenever it serves their interests. This law prohibits, according to their allegation, drilling artesian wells for irrigation purposes in order to preserve underground water resources and to ensure that large quantities of this water are not pumped out, thus increasing water salinity and making water unfit for drinking.

The authorities also resorted to other means to besiege this sector and to cause it to despair, considering that they have inundated Palestinian markets with Israeli agricultural products, thus pitting domestic Palestinian production in an unfair competition against the developed Israeli product. These authorities then proceeded to ban the entry of Palestinian production to Israeli markets. In most years, they have also banned the export of the surplus exceeding the domestic market's need to the Arab markets, especially to Jordan.

Occupation Is Not Only Reason

The more intelligent means to which the authorities have resorted since the start of the occupation is to open the various sectors of Israeli work to Palestinian farmers at very tempting wages. At times, farmers working in these sectors collected in one month wages exceeding their

entire annual income from farming. Thus numerous small farmers were encouraged to abandon the land and to go to work in Israel. This, in turn, made it easier for the authorities to confiscate vast areas of land on the pretext that they are not exploited and cultivated.

To tell the truth, occupation is not the only reason why the Palestinian agricultural condition has slipped to this level of misery. The occupation charted its policy and our Palestinian institutions have, very regrettably, implemented this policy by neglecting this sector, by denying farmers financing that enables them to continue to exploit and cultivate the land, and by diverting funds allocated to aid this sector to the wrong circles, even though agricultural institutions have proliferated greatly in the occupied territories recently. It is well known that in any country, the purpose of the presence of such institutions is to serve the farmers and to look for markets to sell their products, especially when there are no markets that ensure that agricultural production is sold at good prices that yield a good return for the farmer, as is the case with Palestinian farmers today. Their purpose is also to protect land and crops and to enlighten farmers and educate them of the necessity of clinging to and utilizing their land that is faced with danger if it is abandoned. But in the occupied territories, these institutions have a different idea and their services are confined to certain people who do not need aid in the first place and who may be as far as can be from agriculture. Meanwhile, small farmers suffer the worst hardship. One should also note that dozens of these associations are no more than ink on paper and a bank account number.

One may wonder: What is the role of the agriculture offices that proliferate the West Bank? Very regrettably, they are in no better a position than numerous other national institutions that are supposed to spread awareness among farmers; to offer them guidance and help them; to supply them with the pesticides they need to fight maladies and diseases that devastate their crops; and to make field visits so as to familiarize themselves with the farmers' conditions and to acquaint them with modern farming methods. However, rarely do these offices take the trouble to distribute an educational leaflet on modern agriculture or on fighting diseases that destroy crops—which have spread greatly and in mysterious ways recently. In some seasons, the cost of pesticides and remedies used in agriculture is more than the farmer's returns, because pesticide prices are high and because the remedies are adulterated at times.

Farmer Is Victim

There are dozens of examples of negligence of the agricultural sector, including the case of farmer 'Abdallah 'Awdah al-Rujub from Dura. Al-Rujub has been knocking on the doors of agricultural institutions and loan institutions for four years in an effort to save his 10-dunum farm, but to no avail. Al-Rujub's cultivated acreage has shrunk to less than three dunums because he has been unable to secure the funds needed to improve

the farm and to enlarge his well, which would irrigate many times this acreage if he could realize his dreams to deepen and broaden the well and to secure the necessary modern irrigation equipment. Al-Rujub has obtained part of this equipment at the expense of his children's sustenance, in the hope that somebody will help him complete this good project.

"I have an existing project," says al-Rujub, "and it consists of 10 dunums of land which contain a spring. In the past, I exploited just about one-half dunum according to the traditional farming method of basin cultivation. Three years ago, I enlarged the spring, making it 20 meters long, five meters wide, and two meters deep. Using drip and sprinkler irrigation, I then cultivated nearly five dunums. I later tried to develop the project and to enlarge the spring site even more because water volume increases in winter. I wanted to exploit that [extra] water to cultivate the remaining acreage in the summer. The cost was estimated at the time at 9,000 Jordanian dinars. Had the sum been secured, I would have been able to employ 10 people in this project in return for a very little investment."

Evident Discrimination in Loans

Al-Rujub went on to add, "I have been knocking at the doors of all associations and institutions for four years, most significantly the Economic Development Association. Very regrettably, when I met with one of this association's officials and explained the project to him, he said the association grants loans for industrial purposes only, not for agriculture, keeping in mind that the association has advanced loans for the purchase of cattle and sheep. I am fully confident that if I had asked the man for an industrial loan, he would have told me that they give loans to agricultural projects only. This was not the only request I made. Initially, I sent a registered letter to the association. Then I delivered another letter by hand to the secretary six months later. To date, I have not received any response. Why?

"I wonder: Why they do not help me with a loan that I can repay within a short period—perhaps no more than one year—from the yield of the same land for which the loan is to be exploited? Am I not an Arab Palestinian citizen who continues to make sacrifices to this day? Are they fair in their loans, or do they discriminate between one citizen and another? I wonder: What are the criteria on which they base their loan distribution? This is not the first time. Previously, I planted 1,000 olive trees in mountainous land that I reclaimed with bulldozers at my own expense. Nobody offered me any loan or assistance.

"This is not an individual issue. It is an issue experienced by the major part of the Palestinian agricultural sector as a result of neglect by these institutions and of evident discrimination in the loan and aid policies at a time when lands are being confiscated hysterically. Is it not the duty of these institutions, which abound in the occupied territories, to devote attention to the land and to encourage the citizen to exploit it? Is it not their duty

to support and aid farmers and to protect the land? I raise these questions in the hope that we will find somebody to answer them.

"I say very frankly that if, on top of the circumstances that are beyond our control, the current condition persists and if this negligence continues, then say good-bye to agriculture and, consequently, to the land. Everybody will have to be then tasked for what he has done, and we will have to content ourselves with 'sheep and cattle' and with imaginary projects.

"The losses we incur are great and grievous losses. Yet, we persevere, and we continue to work the land in the hope that conditions and circumstances will improve and that some of these losses will be recouped. The Palestinian parties concerned are supposed to compensate us for these losses, if they are truly concerned with the land and if their goal is to defend and liberate the land!"

Constant Loss

Describing the current conditions under which farmers live and the constant losses they incur, Farmer Muhammad 'Abd-al-Hamid Muhsin has said:

"The truth is that agriculture and agricultural work are no longer profitable under these circumstances in which loss has become the main characteristic distinguishing this sector. This is the result of scarcity of rain this season and of greatly reduced prices, compared to higher planting, fertilizer, seed, and irrigation water costs. When the crop is taken to market, it is sold at very cheap prices, because supply is greater than demand. This is the result of lack of farming policies and of sound agricultural planning among farmers, the majority of whom focus on one crop in most seasons.

"This year, farmers who rely on dryland farming have suffered a hard blow as a result of scarce rainfall. The blow will be even harder for farmers who rely on irrigated farming next summer, because underground irrigation water volume will be very small when compared with previous years."

Muhsin went on to add, "This season is bad. Very regrettably, the farmer alone will incur a big loss because of the absence of a national government and because of negligence by agricultural associations and other institutions that are not concerned with the agricultural sector, unlike the Israeli farmer who is protected by the government that compensates him for his losses and secures for him whatever he needs!

"I believe that agriculture's future is dark, especially if favoritism persists in the departments concerned and if the Palestinian agricultural sector continues to be treated as it is treated currently, at a time when it is experiencing great hardship and when it stands alone without finding anybody to support it in its numerous ordeals."

Another farmer has said, "This sector has been facing big problems, especially since the Palestinian associations concerned have focused on the industrial sector exclusively, thus inflicting a great injustice on the agricultural sector, which employs more than 30 percent of the occupied territories' inhabitants who rely basically on agriculture to secure their families' livelihood.

"There is nobody to protect the Palestinian farmer or to compensate him in these seasons in which he has suffered immense losses because of low prices, high cost, and strong competition by Israeli products, which invade all domestic markets, whereas Israeli markets are banned to our products. The objective is to deal the Palestinian farmer a blow and to protect the Israeli farmer who lives under conditions that are greatly different from ours."

Marj Bin 'Amir Is Sad This Year

Farmer Yusuf 'Uraydi from 'Arrabah has said that rain scarcity in Marj Bin 'Amir will have a very negative impact on summer crops this year. 'Uraydi's opinion is shared by farmer 'Azmi Abu-al-Rabb, a member of the Jalbun Agricultural Association's Executive Council, who has said, "This year, the season will be bad because of rain scarcity. Numerous farmers in Jalbun village have re-seeded because the major part of the seed has rotted. Should the drought continue, God forbid, it will be catastrophic for farmers, especially in the absence of a government that cares for and aids them." Abu-al-Rabb added, "The Israeli Government has declared some parts of its agricultural areas drought-stricken lands. This declaration will aid the Israeli farmer, whereas the Palestinian farmer finds nobody to aid or care for him!"

Farmer Ramzi Sha'ban from al-Jalamah and farmer Hazim Shallash from Kafra'i focused their statements on the blow suffered by the agricultural sector this year as a result of rain scarcity and drought.

In Conclusion

This is the painful reality under which the Palestinian agricultural sector lives these days. This sector has no gleam of hope that conditions will improve in the near future, and it displays great fear of a dark future, especially since negligence and injustice have left their imprints on it. Negligence and injustice have been tantamount to a hard blow dealt this sector, which has been fighting for decades the policy to break the bond between man and land and the attempt to drive man away from his land through confiscation, inducements, or successive blows. The result is immense losses incurred by the Palestinian farmer alone. There is nobody to care for this farmer him or to aid him farmer and help him overcome the obstacles and march forth on his path!

This sector's future will be truly dark, especially if the injustice inflicted on the farmers persists, as farmers say, and if the current policies, which inevitably mean the destruction of agriculture and abandonment of the land, continue in the future.

Journalists on Press Freedom Under Autonomy

94AF0143B Jerusalem AL-BAYADIR AL-SIYASI
in Arabic 26 Feb 94 p 29

[Article by 'Abd-al-Rahim Qawsini: "Visions on Future of Press Freedom Under Coming Palestinian Authority"]

[Text] What is the future of press freedom in the coming phase when Palestinians take over the reigns of government?

Is there fear that the move will be from the Israeli military censor to a Palestinian censor controlling our domestic press?

These are notions and questions that occur to the mind of the occupied territories' press workers who hope that the coming phase will be a phase of openness and free expression that compensates Palestinians for the deprivation they have endured in the preceding phase. Here, I will record the visions and expectations of a number of specialists and workers in the Palestinian press.

Journalist Majid 'Aruri, from Sanabil Press Bureau in Ramallah, believes that the Palestinian press has been restricted, even before the arrival of autonomy. In addition to the Israeli military censor's control, Palestinian organizations have experienced control over most of the press publications issued in the occupied territories. The Palestinian journalist has not been able to offer press analyses and reports conflicting with the tendencies of the existing political organizations. The other papers (AL-QUDS and AL-NAHAR) have been characterized by their neutral presentation, which imposes restrictions on any critical press material, especially material addressed to the official circles. Despite the liberalism it has displayed in the past two years, AL-NAHAR does not allow any articles it publishes to criticize Jordan.

Therefore, any paper controlled by the party that finances it during the occupation era will continue to experience the same problem under the autonomous authority, which will also take control of censorship and of issuing permits to publish papers. Thus, autonomy will employ its authority to prevent the emergence of any voices that criticize autonomy. This task will be easy in the absence of a press union body capable of confronting this policy. The union body (i.e., the Journalists League) is controlled and dominated by the tendency supporting self-rule, even though it incorporates other parties. However, these parties' role is ineffective and not influential.

Journalist 'Ali Jiddah from AL-QUDS newspaper has said:

"Very regrettably, I say that in the coming phase, the Palestinian press will not be in a better condition than its current condition, not to say that it will be in a more difficult condition. I say this by virtue of my full awareness of the Palestinian forces' miserable history of democratic action. Moreover, the coming government will

focus its efforts on cementing and entrenching the mainstays of its rule, which necessarily means that it will try to curb the voice and echo of the forces that are likely to pose a threat to this government and to its authority.

"I assert that this is what will happen in the future, especially since the statements of some Palestinian officials point in this direction. I will particularly note Hakam Bal'awi's statements on how the opposition will be dealt with in the future."

Dr. 'Abd-al-Sattar Qasim, from the Political Science Section of al-Najah University, has said:

"Future press freedom is tied to the Gaza-Jericho accord, i.e., it is tied to the degree of freedom permitted by the accord. Freedom is restricted by the provisions of the accord. For example, it isn't permissible to incite against Israel. The Palestinian government will have to respect this tendency. Else, it will violate the accord.

"Therefore, there will be a Palestinian censor. If one doesn't exist, Israel will insist on his presence, keeping in mind that a Palestinian censor is operating now while the occupation exercises its own censorship. So, how will the situation be in case a government overseeing daily life is established?"

Journalist Hani al-'Isawi from Jerusalem has said:

"I don't believe that there will be an independent Palestinian government if the accord is implemented. What will be there is a civil administration controlled by the occupation. At best, it will be the authority of one individual who establishes laws compatible with his interests and plans. This is why one cannot talk about any form of freedom under the canopy of a self-rule like the rule projected currently.

"I believe that the current military censor watches press material from the security angle. But if there is press under self-rule, it will be a yellow press, i.e., government press solely. It is feared that whoever violates this [rule] will be pursued. Therefore, there will be no need for a special press censor, because all agencies under autonomy will be in the service of government propaganda solely."

Journalist Ghazi Bani 'Awdah has said:

"I don't believe that press conditions under the self-rule government will be fundamentally different from the current conditions. All signs indicate in one way or another that oppression and persecution will be the lot of any voice or pen that writes about real issues and that doesn't sing the praises of autonomy and doesn't applaud the cardboard feats and accomplishments of the coming leadership. Let us learn a lesson from the recent expulsion of Hijazi, a journalist, from FILASTIN AL-THAWRAH and from numerous other incidents.

"As for censorship, there is no doubt that the coming Palestinian authority's censor will 'capably' replace the Israeli censor, even though materials affected by this

'censor's scissors' will be different at times from materials affected under the occupation."

Journalist Amin Abu-Wardah from AL-QUDS PRESS AGENCY believes that "the Palestinian people's hardship in all fields dictates that any authority that takes control of the reigns avoid whatever can touch the wounds of all Palestinian people and whatever undermines the sanctity of the individual who has taken part in the ceaseless struggle to attain his rights and who has made great sacrifices for these rights."

"This is why I expect, optimistically, great openness in the press. But there is a founded fear of the future because of the numerous experiences of the Arab world where authoritarianism prevails despite all the raised slogans that have been proved to be a failure by reality. However, it is my hope that the Palestinian experiment will be distinguished by giving the opportunity to everybody to express his positions and opinions democratically."

ALGERIA

Trade Prospects With Japan 'Good'

94AF0152B Algiers ALGER REPUBLICAIN in French
17 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by APS: "'Good Prospects' for Cooperation With Japan"]

[Text] Economic relations between Algeria and Japan are destined to "grow stronger" and "expand" following the visit to Tokyo last week of Algeria's economic affairs minister, Mr. Mourad Benachenhou, sources close to the ministry said yesterday.

"There are good prospects for strengthening and increasing the volume of trade between Algeria and Japan," sources said, adding that the Japanese side "reacted favorably and sympathetically to Algeria's commitment" to move toward a market economy.

The purpose of Mr. Benachenhou's visit was to "inform top-level Japanese officials of the substance of the new economic policy decided by the Algerian Government as part of the transition to a market economy," said ministry sources, without divulging more specifics.

The minister held talks "in an atmosphere of frankness and professionalism" with the Japanese minister for industry and international commerce, the deputy foreign affairs minister for international economic relations, the directors general of Eximbank [Export-Import Bank] and the Overseas Economic Cooperation Fund, the vice president of Keidanren (employers' association), and other Japanese economic leaders.

Additional meetings were planned by the two sides and should take place "in the near future," sources added.

Japan, which after France is Algeria's biggest creditor, has made commitments to participate in diverse investment projects in Algeria, including the vast program to renovate Algeria's natural gas facilities, to the tune of credits totaling close to \$1.5 billion, it was noted.

Algeria is preparing to conclude a temporary "standby" agreement with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), to be followed by a three-year "expanded adjustment accord" to support an easing of the debt service burden, which at its current level of \$9 billion will consume more than 97 percent of hydrocarbon exchange earnings this year.

Admitting for the first time that Algeria could no longer meet its essential needs without a reduction in payments on its external debt, which now totals close to \$26 billion, authorities last December asked for a "multilateral debt restructuring" without the strict conditionality that generally accompanies conventional reschedulings.

The standby accord must be accompanied by balance-of-payments support financing on the order of several hundred millions of dollars, said IMF director-general Michel Camdessus on 25 February, at the conclusion of a 24-hour visit to Algeria.

The accord should also facilitate unblocking remaining tranches of certain multilateral lines of credit, including 1992 European Community credit lines totaling 400 million ECU [European currency units] (about \$500 million).

During the negotiations that began last September between the IMF and Algerian authorities, the latter announced they had appealed to the Group of Seven (G-7)—the seven major industrial nations, including Japan—to support their request for special treatment in view of Algeria's severe economic, political, and social problems.

Following the example of France, which Mr. Benachenhou visited before Tokyo, the principal partners responded favorably to that request with statements of good intentions—but they conditioned any concrete support to conclusion of an accord between Algeria and the IMF.

Reaction to Killing of Abdelkader Alloula

94AF0152D Algiers ALGER REPUBLICAIN in French
16 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by R.N.: "Denunciations of a Barbarous Crime"; first 4 paragraphs are ALGER REPUBLICAIN introduction]

[Text] The assassination of world-renowned dramatist Abdelkader Alloula has deeply affected everyone who ever crossed his path or knew him, directly or through his works.

A number of condolence messages and statements, denouncing the barbarous crime and the crusade of

hatred, which the fundamentalists are waging against Algeria and its citizens, have been received by our editorial department. Most are from anonymous citizens, like the young people of Tizi-Ouzou (Said and Mouloud) who in their message of condolence call on democrats and republicans to form a "united front against fascist, fundamentalist barbarism..."

Two women's associations, RAJD [Algerian Rally of Women for Democracy] and AFEPEC [Women's Association for Personal Growth and Exercise of Citizenship], also made their views known.

The only political party to speak out, in a long statement from which we reprint extensive extracts below, was the Ettahaddi movement—faithful as ever to its antifundamentalist position and its struggle for republican values.

A Citizen Reacts [Article by Farida Ramse]

Abdelkader Alloula is gone. A man of culture, an Algerian of talent and integrity, is with us no more. Another name has been added to the grim roster of the victims of terrorism. Another chapter of Algeria's history is written in blood. But our politicians remain indifferent and do nothing to stop the terrorism. And what does it mean, the silence of the politicians, the absence of initiatives? Are the politicians completely powerless to change the situation? What exactly have they done? With every passing day, more men and women are shamefully assassinated by villainous outlaws; not even children are spared. The Algerian people are groaning in agony. Fear and terror reign in the streets, homes, and schools.

No, no, no! Too much, it's too much! How can we tolerate the wholesale slaughter of innocents at the hands of blind fundamentalism? We have never really mourned our dead: We have mourned only our own weaknesses.

But the majority of Algeria's citizens, myself included, have expressed firm resolve to put an end to these terrorists and to proclaim loud and forcefully, to their supposed protector, that a policy driven by terrorism is unacceptable. They have argued, time and again, that these terrorist tactics are a distortion of authentic Islam and have openly condemned the extremists, whose narrow economic and political interests are so thinly veiled.

The Algerian people have suffered enough. They bear the scars of crimes perpetrated by those who were their adversary in the past and remain their enemy today. The people aspire for peace, in justice and freedom. To realize that hope, they are calling on all patriots to insist that the regime put an end to all efforts to destroy national unity, unmask the destabilizers trying to exploit civil turmoil, and put an end to the massacre of Algeria and Algerians.

Ettahaddi Movement

The slender thread of hope for the survival of our brother Abdelkader Alloula has been severed. One of the nation's irreplaceable cultural and artistic treasures has been shattered.

This is what fundamentalism is really about, for nothing but violence and extremism can result from its totalitarian, obscurantist ideology. No so-called tactical concessions, no conciliatory gestures, no rhetoric of appeasement will change its fascist, dictatorial, and warlike character.

Honorable, patriotic Algerians will not forget that at a time when assassinations are taking the lives of its writers and poets, of thinkers and scientists, of white-collar and blue-collar workers, of men and women who reject fundamentalist oppression and terror, almost the entire political class and certain coteries within the regime are behaving with ever-increasing cowardice and irresponsibility in their efforts to absolve and rehabilitate the Islamist parties and their criminal leaders.

Algerian patriots will not forget the work and struggle of Abdelkader Alloula. They will honor his memory and that of those before him who gave their lives for the preservation of the state and the defense of democratic, republican, and progressive values.

The Ettahaddi movement calls on the population of Oran and the surrounding region, indeed on all Algerian men and women who want their children to have a future of dignity and freedom, to make the funeral services for A. Alloula a great occasion of mobilization against fundamentalist terrorism, its instigators, and its protectors. It is still waiting for the authorities to quit shirking their responsibility. Algiers, 14 March 1994.

Open Letter to Zeroual on Increased Bloodshed

94AF0152C Algiers ALGER REPUBLICAIN in French
9 Mar 94 p 1

[Unattributed letter to President Zeroual: "Avoiding Drift"]

[Excerpt] Mr. President:

On this date, 8 March, on the eve of aid, we are greatly distressed to see our country sinking into chaos. Our distress increases with every passing day before the resurgence of hideous terrorist acts, the assassination of Algeria's most promising children. These ignoble acts have become even more prevalent since the enacting of conciliatory measures and the calls for dialogue with those who are digging the grave of a modern and republican Algeria: those who want to seize power, all power, to impose on us their vision of a fundamentalist society and engulf the country in fire and blood.

Far from helping to extricate our country from the crisis, these measures and these appeals have succeeded only in confusing the women and men who are struggling to

create a resolutely modern society and whose hopes must not be disappointed. These measures have succeeded only in encouraging the enemies of Algeria to deepen the climate of terror and insecurity.

Mr. President, the "cult of bloodshed" continues to drain Algeria's lifeblood and mutilate its families. In their organized and murderous insanity, the forces of terrorism are attacking the children, the womenfolk, who have always been singled out as special targets by totalitarian fundamentalism. Mr. President, in every way from the infamous Family Code to physical liquidation—and including intimidation, threats, rape, and abduction—flesh-and-blood women are being subjected to the horrors of a diabolic cycle of barbarism.

Mr. President, women refuse to be sacrificed yet again on the altar of a suicidal policy or a pact with the devil. The real interlocutors in a dialogue about the future of modern Algeria should be the women and men who believe in it, who are fighting with their bare hands to keep this country from falling under the sway of an Islamist dictatorship. [passage omitted]

New Combined Offensive: Commander 'Dismissed'

94AF0166C Algiers LIBERTE in French 29 Mar 94 p 2

[Article by D.A.: "Combined Forces in Action"]

[Text] An offensive by the combined forces of the security services—chiefly the Army—is now being visibly confirmed in the field. Just about everywhere, but especially in the zones most affected by terrorism (Batna, Lakhdaria, Jijel, Bel Abbes, Blida, Constantine, and so on), those forces are currently applying very strong pressure. According to our sources, that pressure is making itself clearly felt in the pockets of terrorism thanks to a general redeployment using every means including aviation, helicopters, and semiheavy weapons.

In recent days, for example, a large contingent of ANP [People's National Army] special forces occupied the Aures Mountains, where they wiped out a great many escapees from Lambesc. Those same special forces have energetically gotten the situation under control over vast areas, particularly around Ksar El Boukhari, Medea, Ain Defla, Chlef, and Blida, which have literally been gone over with a fine-tooth comb. It should be pointed out that the Army's special forces consist of paratroops from the Biskra Airborne School. They are seasoned elite troops, one battalion of which can easily rival the equivalent of 10 conventional armed battalions.

The same sources say that the merciless counteroffensive being conducted by the combined forces actually began the very next day after the march on 22 March. But the permanent presence of the state and the organization in stages of general offensives in the field are in fact the result of decisions made at meetings by the Army High Command several weeks ago, as reported by our newspaper around the end of Ramadan.

What seems completely new in the antiterrorist struggle is the fact that now, as our sources point out, the security forces are using proven methods for dismantling armed groups. It will be noted, for example, that false road-blocks have been taken by surprise and their perpetrators killed thanks to infiltration by the security services, whose members mix with the public as ordinary bus passengers.

Tracking down terrorists has become a matter of seconds, so to speak, for the ANP special forces in simultaneous action with the police and the Gendarmerie. General Betchine's recent appointment as minister-adviser to the office of the president means, naturally, that Betchine is responsible in particular for coordination of the security services at the highest level in that simultaneous action.

Especially since Gen. Betchine has had a long career in the ANP and, before that, in the ALN [National Liberation Army]. Besides being perfectly aware of what is going on, he is also known as a hard-liner and an intransigent nationalist who was unhesitatingly among the few key figures to tell Chadli Bendjedid directly that he should not legalize the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front].

In what is apparently a new direction being taken in antiterrorist action, this regaining of control over the security situation also relies on active participation by the public.

Feeling concerned, citizens have recently stepped in by reporting the exact layout of the land and of hiding places known to them as places where terrorists could be taking refuge. Significant results have thus been achieved in this antiterrorist struggle, both in the bush and in the cities, and it seems that the official figures on the casualties suffered by terrorism are far from reflecting reality. Apparently they reflect partial counts, with the correct figures being considerably higher.

The fact remains that this operation to regain control has given rise to news reports of all kinds. In Mitidja, for example, on the day after the "curfew" imposed by the terrorists, there was a persistent rumor to the effect that the commander of the 1st Military Region had been dismissed because a garrison city (29 barracks) like Blida had inexplicably fallen into the hands of the terrorists.

That report has been neither denied nor confirmed, although it now seems certain that Blida and its region are completely under control from the security standpoint. In other words, communication is still not the government's strong point.

Negotiations With Islamists; Positions Analyzed

94AF0166B Algiers EL WATAN in French 2 Apr 94 pp 1, 3

[Article by M. Abderrahmane: "Does the FIS Still Count in the Field?"; First paragraph is EL WATAN introduction]

[Text] The threats contained in the latest communique from the GIA [Armed Islamic Group] and directed at Hamas [Islamic Society Movement] and Nahdah are more than eloquent. After accusing them of being either hypocrites or "mukhabarat," the spokesman in Bonn promises a violent death for their leaders as well as any leaders of the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front] who might have the poor judgment to hold discussions with the government. Are those threats the reason why the FIS has not lived up to the terms of its deal with the government?

The communique dated from Bonn accuses Nahnah's party of being in fact a tool of the regime because delegations consisting of Hamas cadres held press conferences in Europe and the Middle East regarding the situation in Algeria to deny the existence of any holy war and say that those claiming to be war veterans were simpleminded.

According to the GIA, those trips were sponsored in collaboration with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, a circumstance that does not enhance Nahnah's image among the armed groups already accusing him of collaboration with the "junta" because he showed too much zeal for the dialogue initiated by the CDN [National Dialogue Commission].

So following the contract that Said Makhoulfi put out on Abdallah Djaballah, the armed groups have now issued a new sentence, this one against an Islamist leader because of his receptiveness to a political solution. The communique reiterates rejection of all dialogue with the government by denouncing any member of the FIS "Majlis Echoura" [advisory council] who takes part in such an initiative.

Is that the real reason for the failure of the arrangement between Zeroual and the imprisoned Islamist leaders? According to the office of the president, Abassi and Benhadj delegated Djeddi and Boukhamkham to talk to the group leaders and achieve a cease-fire, that being the main condition for holding new elections as soon as possible.

One month after the release of those two members of the "Majlis Echoura," there has been no tangible result to encourage supporters of that initiative. Even worse, Boukhamkham is said to have delivered certain inflammatory sermons encouraging armed action and supporting certain group leaders whose barbarity has seriously eroded convictions among the rank and file.

There are two possible explanations for the lack of desire on the part of the FIS leaders to keep their promise. The first has to do with what the "boarders" at Blida Prison really want. Do they want calm to be restored as long as they are in prison? The content of the letter sent by Ali Benhadj to Chebouti, in which he promised to place himself at the latter's disposal upon being released from prison—a letter that got his lawyer Touati a three-year prison term for smuggling it out—stuns those who think there is a difference between the FIS' politicians and its

armed branch, whether that be the MIA [Armed Islamic Movement], the HDI [Haraket addawla al islamiya], or even the GIA.

That multiplication of acronyms, which serves only to appease leadership ambitions and conceal sometimes bloody internal struggles and squabbling among cliques, must not make us lose sight of the fact that the methods, strategy, and objectives are the same. Rejection of any idea of dialogue with the government, rejection of any possible truce before the pure and simple abdication of all those governing today, and trials for everyone who participated in one way or another in interrupting the electoral process are constants in every communication from the armed groups, whether over the illegal radio station Wafa, in the publications they issue in Europe thanks to their intermediaries there, or the posters they put up on the walls of mosques. What is the reason for the promise made to Zeroual to halt terrorist acts—a promise implying tacit agreement to participate in dialogue? Does it mean that the minister of defense possesses a sufficiently persuasive gift of gab to make Abassi and Benhadj go back on their word somewhere? The reasons for all this might be found in the things that have been successively left unsaid. Beginning with the CDN, which had managed to convince everyone that the FIS would participate through Hachani, for just a few hours, in the opening session of the national conference, thus spicing up a meeting that was promising to be dull. And also the office of the president, which first contradicts remarks made by the party leaders and then confirms them in a statement by its spokesman. There is no assurance that the story of the meeting between Zeroual and the shaykhs will someday be written.

The second explanation for what the office of the president discreetly calls "nonimplementation of the promises made to date" may be that the FIS leaders are in fact incapable of controlling armed groups that deny them any authority over young and bloodthirsty amirs who suffer no doubts.

However, there is still that murderous sound bite by Abassi in his heyday, when he told the crowds astounded by laser technology that: "I will turn my men loose on your tanks, and they will eat them!" His statement showed that he already had troops prepared for any eventuality and able to go from civil disobedience to armed insurrection and that that army was simply waiting for word from him—in other words, that he had sufficient influence over the "Afghans" and the people he had sent to join the pro-Iranian Lebanese Hezbollah in the Bekaa Valley—and, last, that Chebouti was being exhibited at political rallies by the FIS president as a postmortem surety for armed Islamism in Algeria as incarnated by the Bouyali symbol. All those factors tend to prove that Abassi and Benhadj have influence over the armed groups, but there is a discrepancy between what someone like Makhoulfi or Redjam says and the promise by the FIS leaders as announced by Bensalah during the national conference and confirmed a few days later by Mihoubi in the statement by the office of the president.

Does this indicate a tactical division of labor between Islamist politicians and the Islamist military or—as is more likely—an undeclared challenge to the authority of the shaykhs? Beyond all those questions about whether Abassi and Benhadj are capable of halting the terrorist acts, there is another question that is of the greatest interest to observers: what are they going to be offered in return?

GIA Leaders: Sayeh Attia Reportedly 'Wounded'

94AF0166A Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French
4 Apr 94 p 9

[Article by Rachid Drif: "The Morals of the GIA"]

[Text] The files of the security services are overflowing with photographs that would have seemed surrealistic in other times. Dozens and dozens of photographs from investigations that will certainly never be made public. Pictures that no newspaper will ever publish. Men by the dozen decapitated, their throats slit like animals, covered with knife wounds, and with terrifying looks on their faces. Soldiers, police officers, government employees, foreigners, and citizens with their throats slit or their heads cut off to glorify religion and be absolved of past sins. It is "jihad": holy war seen by the amirs of the GIA [Armed Islamic Group] as a way of saving the Algerian people from worse calamities—a way of remaining faithful to the principles of the leaders of the Islamic Front and obeying the new scholars of religion who issue fatwas without ever dirtying their own hands.

It is those anonymous dead, whose names are being added every day to quickly forgotten lists, whom many Algerians—passive accomplices—know nothing about.

Islamists and the "Junta"

Cherrati Yekhlief, the imam of El Harrach and founding member of the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front] who is now in prison, is still awaiting trial. He was one of the few influential members of Abassi's party to have issued communiques calling for calm during the confrontations in June 1991.

After the second round of balloting in the legislative elections was suspended early in 1992, he circulated, through the party's channels, one of the first fatwas authorizing a holy war using every means, including murder. Members of the FIS took the imam's "opinion" to be a party directive, and crime was therefore legalized by religion: by Islam.

Later, gang leaders such as Allal and Layada surrounded themselves with young muftis trained in Algerian schools. Those muftis authorized robbery, the murder of relatives and Islamists, and then a special rite: the slitting of throats.

Religion therefore justified organized crime without interference. No known Islamist and no imam, whether a member of the FIS or an accredited TV preacher,

would denounce the murder of innocents and terrorism openly, the exceptions being Shaykh Zebda, who was threatened by the armed groups, and then Nahnah following the murder of Shaykh Bouslimani.

New Amir

Sayeh Attia became the GIA's new leader following the death of Si Ahmed Murad, better known as Djaafar El Afghani. Attia was born in Ouled Hellal in Medea, his stronghold, in 1956. He is one of the 100 or so Islamist activists whose names appear on a list included by the National Gendarmerie in a rather unusual report. While cross checking general intelligence, the investigators—analysts from Darak—noticed something distinctive about many former FIS elected officials, leaders of armed groups, and virulent Islamists often living outside their native regions. They were the sons of harkis [Algerians who fought for France prior to Algeria's independence], and a list of them has been published in the newspaper EL WATAN.

Attia, alias "El Khan," alias "Younes," conducted his first big "operation" in March 1993. It was an attack on the Boughzoul barracks, and 18 soldiers were killed. Some of them had their throats slit. In Tamezguida, 12 Croats were murdered the same way, while the Muslims in the group were spared.

In Theniet El Had, the governor of Tissemsilt was murdered and part of his escort massacred. Attia was wounded during the shoot-out by police and gendarmes at the rear of the procession who had time to respond to the attack. He was later reported dead. To carry out the attack, he had requested assistance from two amirs in the GIA, Boukabous in Kedaria near Bouira and Kouider Benyahia, son of the "bachagha" of Abadia. The two amirs showed up with their respective groups.

Attia asserted his leadership and was in contact with Djaafar El Afghani, who covered the Algiers region while he stayed active in his native Medea. He married a 14-year-old girl whose father was sheltering the group from Tamezguida. The father was later arrested. After Djaafar's death, he became the national amir and took over the GIA. According to reliable sources, he recently sent emissaries to the leaders of the armed movement asking them to swear allegiance to him—the "baiaa" due the amir according to religious tradition. Three Islamists were contacted: Said Mekhloufi, former editor in chief of the FIS bimonthly EL MOUNQUID and head of Cheboudi's former MIA [Armed Islamic Movement]; Redjam, boss of the front's emergency unit that was established in June 1991; and Moussa Kraouche, the Algerian Brotherhood's spokesman in France and a close associate of Rabah Kebir. They were the "heavyweight" groups in the underground FIS, fundamentalism, and the "djazzara". "General" Cheboudi was not on the list, and his name no longer appears at all.

There are two opposing theories about him. A few months ago, a terrorist was arrested who said that the former follower of Bouyali had been seriously wounded,

had died from his injuries, and had been buried by his next of kin. His grave cannot be found. But the security services are not ruling out the possibility that he is lying low for awhile and that he has left Algeria like Hattab, the man behind Merbah's murder.

From Jijel to Lambese

The principal organizer of the escape from Batna Prison, a man named Messaoudi, was recently killed. The former head of the FIS Executive Bureau and amir of Zana El Beida (between Batna and Setif), he and his group had apparently organized the operation to free known activists and above all to rescue another, extremely dangerous amir. And in fact, the 65 prisoners on death row and the numerous prisoners serving life sentences did include members of the group headed by Hocine Abderrahim, who had made preparations for the attack on the airport; members of the group headed by Meliani and Lahrani, who both led the attack on "L'Amirauté"; and men convicted in connection with the Ksar El Hirane incident, in which five gendarmes had had their throats slit.

The amir whom the group was intent on freeing was Saoudi Mabrouk, who had been active in Kadiria near Bouira. Saoudi had lost his legs during an armed encounter, and the nurse who was taking care of him at Lambese was taken away by the armed group. Condemned to death three times, Saoudi had belonged to one of the most dangerous terrorist groups and was responsible for the murder of a Gendarmerie squad leader and of police officers in Lakhdaria during the events of June 1991 and for the theft of several hundred kilograms of explosives in Jijel in 1990.

The group responsible for the job in Jijel was one of the first MIA groups to be set up following the Mustapha Bouyali era. Its members have all made the headlines: Hattab, who has been a fugitive for four years; Allam, alias "Amir Nouh," who was condemned to death and executed; Bouabdellah, who escaped while being transferred from Serkadji to Lambese; Seddiki, a serial killer who escaped from the Blida Prison and was then killed; and Assameur, head of Tekfir Oua El-Hidjra.

Escapees from Lambese Prison were killed in Boumerdes and the Algiers region. As for the prisoners under a death sentence, they seem to have been taken in by Messaoudi's group before he was killed. They belong to various varieties and generations of Islamist terrorism and are a big danger because they can provide a link between tiny groups that have not been in contact with each other and have been operating independently.

Country of 'Despair'; Dying for Nothing

94AF0125A Algiers EL WATAN in French 5 Mar 94
p 1

[Editorial by Mohamed Lamine: "Despair"]

[Text] Are Algerians—government, citizens, and political parties—really aware of the drama being experienced by

their country? Are they aware of the extent of the tragedy that is being joined to their daily lives and claiming so very many victims? Are they aware that Algeria is marching resolutely down the road to ruin and that we all—all of us without exception—share responsibility for the slow death eating away at a nation and country that nonetheless has what it takes to experience a far happier fate?

People are dying in Algeria today for nothing. Most of the time, they do not even know why they are dying. Or rather, they do not know why they are being murdered, because crime in our country has exceeded all possible and imaginary limits of horror.

Why must Algerians be sacrificed on the altar of rancor, hatred, political ambition, lack of education, and ignorance? Why should a girl who does not want to wear the hijab lose her life on the pretext that she is not conforming to Koranic law when big traffickers and the completely corrupt are hypocritically using the precepts of Islam to enrich themselves without being disturbed in any way? It must be said that Algeria has become the country of every danger with its series of murders, attacks, and political intrigues.

Some influential circles are doing everything they can to increase the deterioration and maintain a situation verging on explosion.

In the fog and the anarchy, big interests are being preserved, and the people, who are suffering and cannot raise their heads, must be made aware of it. Otherwise, how can one explain the fact that practically everyone is talking about "dialogue" at a time when an Algerian is dying from murderous bullets on every street corner?

The picture is already very dark, and every day it is growing a little more apocalyptic. At this rate, Algeria is becoming more and more like Sudan and Afghanistan. The fall into hell seems to be planned.

But try telling that to the supporters of "the Islamic state." They are bent on using force and terror to try to impose a plan for society that is clearly out of step with the aspirations of Algerians.

As though wearing the hijab would enable Algeria to solve all its problems.

Citizens Question Government Inaction

94AF0125B Algiers EL WATAN in French 7 Mar 94
p 3

[Article by Salim Ghazi: "Where Is the State?"; first paragraph is EL WATAN introduction]

[Text] Blida seems to be completely in the grip of fundamentalist terror. Panic-stricken citizens have telephoned

us to say that the atmosphere there is "very heavy"—and that most of the girls have started wearing the hijab to "avoid problems."

One mother told us that "here we feel the presence of the terrorists, who look just like everyone else, more than we do that of the state."

On what does she base such a definite assertion? "I see it in the faces of my children. My daughter is terrified by the thought that if she does not wear the hijab, she will be attacked. You know, we are a family of practicing Muslims, and we do not need to prove it or to be given lessons in Islam by anyone. The only thing is that the atmosphere is one of insecurity. One is afraid, and people go along with it."

That feeling is shared by other citizens who have the clear impression that "they have been abandoned to the fundamentalists in the absence of authority." The state is absent, there is no authority! Those words are frequently heard on people's lips, and not just in Blida, which today is completely helpless. With the return of the "leaflets" posted just about everywhere and the incendiary sermons being preached in certain mosques, there is certainly sufficient cause for the citizens to panic, especially since the terrorists' threats are followed by action.

Recently, however, it has been noticed in Blida that the military have "repartitioned" the city following the removal of roadblocks from strategic locations—no one knows exactly why they were removed. "Those roadblocks—that military presence—won people's trust and deterred the terrorists just a tiny bit."

"It was precisely when they disappeared that fundamentalist arrogance regained ground. This is not right, because the citizens have no way to defend themselves from the terrorist threat," we were told by an official who does not know what to do next in the face of the fear that has taken hold of his two children, a boy and a girl. "They have become the stakes for people who want to make the situation diabolical, but how long is this going to go on?"

But Blida is not alone. There are reportedly "hot" neighborhoods on the outskirts of Algiers that are experiencing the same distress, perhaps with more intensity. In Cherarba, for example, the fundamentalists have pushed their zeal to the point of forbidding the citizens to listen to the radio or watch TV.

There again, leaflets are posted announcing that wearing the hijab is compulsory, but also calling for the murder of intellectuals. "They want to rule our lives. They are the ones giving the orders, and soon they will be coming into homes to say what we must or must not eat. As far as educated individuals are concerned, it is natural that the fundamentalists would want to kill them: when one is ignorant and uneducated, one gets frustrated in the presence of those who possess knowledge.

"So to lessen one's frustration, one must kill them, and that is what is happening." The person who told us that feels an anger that he has trouble controlling. A family man with five children, he lives in a modest three-room apartment.

He is furious at "not being able to do anything" about the gang of bastards that is able to terrorize defenseless people because it is armed. "Do we have to arm ourselves now to defend ourselves and save the country from this fundamentalist plague?" he asks.

That is a question running through the minds of many Algerians who have had enough of standing by helplessly in the face of the current carnage. "They kill, they burn our fathers, brothers, mothers, and children, and we say nothing. This is unbearable; Algerians are not made that way, and they must not be buried too soon."

So what is to be done in the face of that panic in the population, which does not understand why the authority of the state is no longer exercised severely and in a more powerful manner?

It is true that the security services are doing all they can to protect the citizens and leaving many victims behind, but people have the feeling that there has been a sort of "slackening off" in the antiterrorist struggle or that the plan of action as organized has become insufficient in the face of the rising fundamentalist peril. "There are no longer any patrols or police sweeps. What is happening?" one girl asked us.

On that subject, it should be recalled that a second security plan was to have gone into effect two or three months ago, but that it has been delayed for unknown reasons.

Among other things, it called for constant police sweeps in "hot" neighborhoods, the massive presence of security forces in the streets, the interrogation of anyone suspected of complicity with terrorist fundamentalists (Afghan uniforms), and, above all, the use of security agents recently trained for antiterrorist operations.

Incidentally, the month of Ramadan has been exploited to the hilt by the fundamentalists, who have launched an all-out "holy war."

A fatwa was even issued exempting the terrorists from the obligation to fast. The month has been a bloody one, a fact that has not been lost on the authorities. They will soon introduce new security measures to reassure the citizens. The few days left before Aid are likely to be very hard on everyone. We must remain vigilant.

Females as 'Terrorist' Victims Discussed

94AF0125F Algiers EL WATAN in French 8 Mar 94
p 2

[Article by Salim Ghazi: "Terrorism: The Women It Kills"; first paragraph is EL WATAN introduction]

[Text] At a time when all the women in the world are celebrating their day on 8 March, Algerian women are unable to dry their tears or separate themselves from the bereavement they have been feeling for over two years. Murderous bullets snatch husbands, sons, brothers, or fathers from them in the daily violence. In Algeria today, as in Kabul, Afghanistan, women cannot properly celebrate their day because dozens of their sisters are being raped and killed by terrorists.

The list of victims is a long one, and the story of their tragedies is terrifying. Since the criminal attack that took the life of Mrs. Bougtache and her husband, a police captain, in Algiers' Notre Dame de l'Afrique district on 17 November 1992, the list of women being killed every day by murderous bullets has been growing steadily longer.

On 1 April of last year, in the very center of the main thoroughfare in Belouizdad, a 30-year-old dressmaker named Zahia was kidnapped from her home by a group of armed individuals. Some time thereafter, her kidnappers let her go after having subjected her to the worst humiliations. Six days later, terrorists struck violently in Eucalyptus. A girl employed in the company benefit office at the DGSN [Directorate General of National Security] was killed in front of her home. Named Karima Belhadj, she was only 17 years old. She had been engaged for over a year and was planning to be married within a few months.

On 18 May of the same year, this time in Bouira in the Maala region, an armed group consisting of about 10 individuals broke into the home of an imam. Unable to find the person they were looking for, the terrorists collectively raped the imam's wife. Despite the trauma, the woman told her husband about the horror she had just experienced. He immediately lodged a complaint. At 0200 on 7 July 1993, a group of armed individuals broke down the door of a house located in the village of Benkhellil in Boufarik that belonged to Saheb Oubelaid and his wife Rachida. After killing the husband, the criminals pursued his wife Rachida, who had fled with her three small daughters through the emergency exit in an attempt to get help from the neighbors, and shot her several times in the head in front of her children.

A month later, this time in the locality of El Attaf (Ain Defla Governorate), the terrorists killed Mrs. Haddad Oum El Kheir, a 39-year-old fortune-teller. The victim was five months pregnant. On 12 August, another woman, 50-year-old businesswoman Allel Aouicha, was killed by an armed group inside her home in the locality of Ouled Slama in Blida Governorate.

Also recalled is the horror experienced by the family of police officer Zermani Redouane in Haouch Gros in the Boufarik region last 13 July. A group of about 20 terrorists armed with Kalashnikovs and dressed in combat uniforms came looking for the police officer. They turned heavy fire on the members of his family, killing the mother immediately and seriously wounding

the two sisters, aged 24 and 20 years. In the locality of Menda near Relizane on 5 December, two sisters, B. Fadela and B. Fatma, were kidnapped from their home in front of family members by a group of armed individuals.

They were released a few days later after being raped and undergoing the worst cruelty. Ten days later in Kherrouba in Boumerdes Governorate, an elderly clairvoyant—60 years of age—was mistreated and raped before having her throat slit by armed terrorists. In Meftah and Larbaa, two cleaning women—Meloufi Aicha, 40, and Mansour Yamna, 36—were killed at point-blank range by terrorists using sawed-off shotguns. On 25 December, the mother of a police officer was beaten to death by terrorists. She was about 50 years old. On the 28th of that same month, another woman, 40-year-old Ikhlef Fadela, had her throat slit in Bouira.

This year, the terrorists are increasing their ferocity and stepping up their murders of women. Last 5 January, for example, the sister of a police officer was kidnapped from her home in front of family members by a group of armed men in the locality of Ain Lahdjar, Ain Temouchent Governorate. She was released a few days later after being mistreated and raped. Four days later, Mrs. Bouchelaghem Aicha, 47, the mother of nine children, had her throat slit by individuals in Sidi Moussa (Blida).

On the 23d of the same month, Mrs. Dirouche Mimouna, a 28-year-old mother of five children, was decapitated in front of her family at her home in Frenda, Tiaret Governorate. On the same day, this time at the Bouziane estate in Douaouda, Tipaza Governorate, a group of terrorists set fire to the home of Mrs. Maameri Fatma, the mother of four children.

On 4 February, 80-year-old Garmit Kheira was killed by bullets to the head after refusing to turn over her savings to 10 or so armed individuals who had broken into her house at night. In Bourouba on the 17th of that same month, terrorists used shotguns to kill a mother, 50-year-old H. Cherifa, and her 25-year-old daughter.

In Sidi Bel Abbes the next day, Mrs. Boudjar Keltoum, 94, had her throat slit by 10 terrorists. Twenty-four hours later in that same governorate, a girl named T. Naima was kidnapped and then released after being mistreated and raped. On the 21st of the same month, when a police officer they wanted to kill could not be found at home, three armed terrorists raped his sister in the terrified presence of her father at his home in Senia (Oran). Three days later, the 72-year-old mother of the DEC [expansion not given] in Bordj Emir Khaled had her throat slit. In Medea the next day, another woman, 73-year-old Lounis Safia, met the same fate. And in Sidi Bel Abbes that day, two sisters, G.M. and G.Z., aged 15 and 12 years, respectively, were kidnapped and raped before being released in the Tighalimet Forest.

In Algiers two days later, the principal of a CEM [College of Intermediate Studies], Mrs. Meziane Zhor, 54, the

mother of three children, was killed by three bullets fired by terrorists in her office. In Gue de Constantine that same day, the wife of customs official Hami Boubakr was killed along with her husband inside their vehicle a few meters from their home.

Bengana Katia, a 17-year-old lycee student, died when she was shot by a terrorist in Meftah, Blida Governorate. On 3 March, an old lady, 69-year-old Hadjou Samia, had her throat slit in Tlemcen, while in Blida, Mrs. Bernarbia nee Tebeni Barkahoum, 44, was killed by a group of criminals who intercepted her while she was driving home in her vehicle.

Foreign women are not spared, either. Last 5 December, Mrs. Ayadi Larissa, a Russian national aged 55 years, was also shot to death in Diar El Afia in Algiers. On the 18th of that same month, a Frenchwoman married to an Algerian, Meme Afri, was killed a few dozen meters from the French Consulate in Algiers, where she worked.

Kouba: Citizens Called on To Arm Themselves

94AF0125E Algiers ALGER REPUBLICAIN in French 1 Mar 94 p 3

[Article by L.H.: "The Reverse Side of Fear"]

[Text] A huge crowd paid a final tribute yesterday to Ahmed and Rabah Asselah at the Higher School of Fine Arts, then accompanied them to their last resting place at the Garidi Cemetery in Kouba. There were several thousand close relatives, friends, students, artists, film makers, theater people, writers, journalists, academics, and people of all occupations and conditions. The Garidi Cemetery could not hold them all.

Sadness furrowed faces that we had previously seen only as friendly and welcoming. Weariness could be seen on their shoulders. "At every funeral we ask ourselves the same question: who will be next?" said one of them. Another person replied: "You don't have to ask that question anymore; he is among us here!"

"As in the case of Tahar Djaout, Belkhenchir, Boucebsi, and so many others, targets are chosen on the basis of integrity, goodness, modesty, and freedom of thought. Along with the bullet's physical impact, the desired psychological impact is discouragement, fear, and dispersal. But it is the opposite that is being produced." All around us, determination could be seen in the hardening faces and the looks exchanged.

"We are paying a high price for the freedom to think when we pay with the lives of the best among us. History will recall that our freedom to meet was exercised first in cemeteries and, especially, on a day in March when the stupendous artist Mohamed Racim and his wife were murdered," said one intellectual.

"It's like shooting clay pigeons!" said one academic.

"We are not going to remain defenseless. Fear currently exists in only one camp. There is no way that it is going to stay there forever. Arm yourselves!"

His neighbor corrected him: "Let us arm ourselves!"

Ahmed Asselah, a discreet and peaceable man, was not sparing in the encouragement he gave artists through his presence at previews of art exhibits, photographic exhibits, theatrical and movie premieres, musical concerts, and other types of entertainment. And everyone from that world had come to pay their last respects. But there were also people who had known him only by name and others who had not heard of him before he was killed but who came to pay him tribute in a show of solidarity.

Life in Blida; Citizens Held Hostage

94AF0145D Algiers EL WATAN in French 10 Mar 94 pp 1, 4

[Article by Mohamed Lamine: "Blida: Terrorism in Daily Life"—first paragraph is EL WATAN introduction]

[Text] For two days Blida has been under the total "supervision" of security forces that laid siege to the city in order to thwart terrorist designs. Checks and "round-ups" have become more frequent, and residents have the impression that the state is trying to regain control.

Is Blida a unique city in Algeria? Here is a city, formerly known for its tolerance, which is a victim of intolerance and fundamentalism. Here is a city that was one of the beacons of nationalism and today is home to certain huge fortunes that have become the main sources financing terrorism.

To walk around Blida today is to be plunged into a nightmare. The "city of the roses" is no longer what it once was. Anguish and fear can be read on people's faces. For the past several months in this city, terrorists have been imposing their law as nowhere else, taking advantage of a certain passivity on the part of residents, even of complicity by some of them. "Habitual criminals," in the expression used by someone who knows the life of the city well, have decided that women must wear the veil so the women of Blida, with some rare exceptions, obey. It is true that they merely wear a scarf over their heads without adding the other "ingredients" that would make "Islamic women" of them.

This is not the first time Blida has succumbed to the fundamentalists' blackmail.

For the past month and a half, the city has been without newspapers because a letter sent from heaven only knows where forbade tobacconists from selling newspapers. These tobacconists have not even tried to fight back and obeyed this "order" with extraordinary ease.

The Moorish baths are, for the most part, closed to women because, in the name of Islam, certain individuals decided that they do not have the right to use them.

Nor have women's hairdressers escaped this exaggerated machismo on the part of the fundamentalists. All of them closed then suddenly reopened, letting people wonder about the fundamentalists' sudden "change of heart."

In Blida meat costs 350 Algerian dinars [DA] whereas everywhere [else] the armed groups have tried to impose a price of DA150 Algerian, unsuccessfully, it needs to be mentioned. Is this because certain wholesale meat dealers in the area, people wondered, supply funds for terrorism and because the terrorists thus cannot saw off the branch of the tree on which they are sitting?

"Blida is on its knees; the city has been taken hostage by the terrorists," a leading figure in the city told us angrily. The city is in the grip of criminal groups. These past few months the presence of security forces was weak. However, Blida has the reputation of being a garrison city. Has the state surrendered in the face of the terror imposed by these adventurers?

Why is there this absence of reaction on the part of the civilian authorities and the military command in charge of the area? The latter had every reason to make a show of strength especially inasmuch as, according to good sources, ambushes were sprung on military convoys traveling the road between Chrea and Blida, a road that has come under the absolute control of the fundamentalists for some time.

Is it because these responsibilities were not assumed in a normal fashion? According to our sources, certain high-level officials responsible for running the city do not even live there and barely spend three days out of seven there.

This slackening off has resulted in grumbings. There has even been talk of grousing among officers who do not understand why there is no response when the state has the means to liquidate the terrorist phenomenon.

New Book Analyzes Present Situation, Causes
94AF0152E *Algiers ALGER REPUBLICAIN in French*
16 Mar 94 p 16

[Review by Belkacem Rouache of book: *Faillite des politicards algeriens (The Failure of Algeria's Political Leaders)* by Maamar Boudersa, Rocher Noir, 1994]

[Text] Written in direct, straightforward style, *Faillite des politicards algeriens* is a book about contemporary Algeria by an academic who goes straight to the heart of the matter by analyzing the current situation of the country and the factors that have brought it to ruin.

"The policies adopted by Chadli sowed the seeds of social instability, political confusion, and economic crisis," writes Boudersa on page 25 of the book.

The author divides the book into four main parts: general political principles; the crisis and solutions; the

providential man; and impediments to a solution. There is also a concluding section with bibliographical references.

Citing Ibn Khaldoun, the author notes that: "war is natural to man: Any nation, any race can serve as an example."

And examples are cited: the FLN [National Liberation Front] versus French colonialism, Fidel Castro, diverse Third World leaders combating underdevelopment, as well as the "wars" of Western democracies against unemployment and inflation.

In Algeria, two statesmen opted for policies based on the "war footing" principle. The first, says the author, was Boumediene.

"The nation, he said, had enemies to vanquish: neocolonialism, underdevelopment, illiteracy, regional imbalance, poverty, misery, and injustices."

The second "warrior" who imposed himself on the national political scene was Mohamed Boudiaf. The latter openly declared war on the Algerian politico-financial "mafia," the author notes. He quickly won legitimacy once he opted—intuitively, and quite sincerely—for a policy based on the "war" that was Boumediene's legacy. Indeed, his "battle" was espoused by the entire nation, by society as a whole.

Maamar Boudersa says that politicians and statesmen who ignore this principle and fail to apply it lead their country down the path to instability, turbulence, even civil war.

Chadli, with his policies aimed at preserving power by methods opposite to Boumediene's, sowed the seeds of political and economic instability.

Thus Chadli, under the slogan "for a better life," gave economic preference to consumption, to the detriment of investment.

The author notes that this policy, presupposing a limited economic role for the state, was inspired more by Keynes than by Marx or Lenin, as others have tried to argue.

The author organizes the second part of *Faillite des politicards algeriens* around studies of Algeria's heads of government since the unrest of October 1988.

Hamrouche and Ghazali, he says, followed the same policies as their predecessors. The predecessors: in other words, those who contributed, each in his own way, to the decade of the 1980's—which as everyone knows ended up destabilizing state, society, and the national economy. Abdelhamid Brahimi was not the only one to blame, he says. The team included Chadli, Taleb Ahmed Brahimi, Larbi Belkheir, Belkaid Mehri, Messaadia, Abdelghani, Belakhdar...

In all this criticism, our scholar spares Abdesslem, who he says tried to solve the underlying problems, rather than just put out brush fires like Hamrouche and Ghazali.

However, we know that even Abdesslem ultimately failed. During his tenure, Algeria fell into a major economic recession, aggravated by a policy that made war against practically everyone but failed to score any victories.

Boudiafism! The author writes that the assassination of President Boudiaf has benefited those who opposed him and who after his death have sought to bask in his political legacy. Boudersa recalls in this connection what Lenin wrote about false Marxists: "Throughout history, after the death of revolutionary leaders who were popular with the oppressed classes, the enemies of those leaders have tried to exploit the reputation of the deceased to dupe the oppressed."

Islamism versus nationalism.

The author writes that in order to realize its political objectives, the outgrowths of a defeatist policy, and destroy the system based on Boumediene's "war" legacy, a secret weapon was chosen—a weapon that according to the author was eminently serviceable, of local fabrication, and historically durable: realization of the "old and defunct reformist-colonial project introduced as an alternative to the national-liberation vision."

In the same vein, the author notes that the national charter of 1976 was "enriched" in this direction, when the national commission chaired by Taleb Ahmed called for establishment of an Islamic state as elaborated by Mohamed Harbi's in *L'Algerie et son destin* [Algeria and its Destiny].

Even Hamrouche discussed it in his talks at Matignon (Paris) with Michel Rocard, as reported by the press: "The rise of Islam, amplified by the French media, he said, disturbed and dumbfounded many people, he said. But the government was never upset or fearful. His analysis was correct. Events showed we were right."

"The influence of the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front] quickly ran up against its limits... Now...I have a real problem: I would not like to see the FIS disappear. It is necessary for this abscess of fixation, this socially reactionary formation, to remain."

As for impediments to resolution of the crisis, Boudersa says that while corruption may have been the common denominator of the political coalitions responsible for the country's ruin, the only possible way to rebuild it is through a coalition against corruption.

Boudersa bases this conclusion on the principle of war. Boumediene made war on unemployment, the enemies of the nation, underdevelopment, regional imbalance, illiteracy, and poverty. Boudiaf made war on corruption, Chadli made war on Algeria.

An impassioned book, of burning relevance to today's problems, and a very fast read.

Citizens Organize To 'Defend Republic'

94AF0152A Algiers ALGER REPUBLICAIN in French 18-19 Mar 94 p 3

[Article by M.G.: "Republic Organizes To Combat Fundamentalist 'Hydra'"]

[Text] The idea of the need to establish a citizens' committee for the defense of the republic has gathered more momentum since the big popular demonstration that followed the assassination of dramatist Ab Jekader Alloula. The citizens' group that was formed at the meeting last Thursday was a committee to prepare for the day-long regional rally scheduled for 22 March at T.R.O. Square.

Various work groups have been set up to this end, to make contact with well-known personalities, associations, and union leaders and raise funds to support the event.

At a preliminary meeting marked by lively discussion, the platform adopted could be summed up as defending the republic against the threat of a fundamentalist "parallel state" and pressuring state institutions to meet their responsibility to defend the citizenry.

"Before we are forced to the dreadful point of taking up arms," one participant emphasized.

Their actions will be aimed at building bridges between the elites, prominent defenders of republicanism, and the mass of ordinary citizens.

There were many proposals to issue calls for international action. In that context, the role of the press and intellectuals was underscored.

Some participants undertook to make contacts with a view to reestablishing the committee of intellectuals.

To stop the killings, which have become increasingly commonplace, to combat attitudes of denial, and to alleviate citizen fears, the committee decided at this meeting to make contact with numerous leaders of voluntary associations—UNEP [National Union of Public Entrepreneurs], UGTA [General Union of Algerian Workers], etc.—with a view to collective action and mobilizing maximum support from the republican sector. Attention was drawn to the fact that many ordinary citizens are demanding reprisals for the actions of the fundamentalists.

In that regard, several people in attendance proposed a national strike, to give republican forces the chance to make their voices heard and demand action from the state.

On another front, speakers proposed 26 March, when schools reopen around the country, as a day for protest

against mandatory wearing of the hijab, and denunciation of certain headmasters and school administrators who acting out of fear have forced students to wear the hijab.

A working group was created to follow through on the necessary actions. Underlined was the need for teachers in cooperation with parents of students to take charge of their own lives.

Finally, the citizens' committee will urge people to start preparing for the 22 March regional demonstration in Oran.

The idea of a news release is also being developed.

The birth of this committee is one contribution from the ranks of the republicans. There will doubtless be others in the coming days.

Higher Fuel Prices Show Up at Pump

94AF0146A Algiers EL WATAN in French 9 Mar 94
p 3

[Unattributed article: "Fuel and Tobacco Products: Increases"]

[Text] The prices for fuel at the pump increased by more than 20 percent on average starting Monday evening, 7 March.

A liter of "super" gas went from 6.50 dinars[DA] to DA8.50 Algerian and a liter of "regular" gas from DA6.00 Algerian to DA7.00 Algerian, while a liter of gas oil (mazout) doubled, going from DA3.00 Algerian to DA6.00 Algerian.

NAFTAL, the petroleum products distribution company, has so far not provided an explanation for these increases, even if they had been expected, given the general context of inflation and deficit in the national budget. The increase in the prices of fuel is not part of NAFTAL's jurisdiction but rather the government's, which thought, when the last increase went into effect one year ago, that the prices for fuel were among the lowest in the world and that we were still far from a "true price," all the more so since Algeria, an exporter of crude oil, imports certain refined products.

For a long time the authorities hesitated to impose the principle of truth in prices for fuels all of a sudden owing mainly to surcharges for transport and development that result from them, further deepening company deficits, not to mention repercussions on mass transit fares and thus on overall purchasing power. [sentence as published]

With respect to the energy sector, an increase in production and distribution costs has been seen for some time, while at the same time calls by gas station owners for an increase in benefit margins, among other things, have been growing.

About two weeks ago a movement by service station managers, who are asking that this margin be multiplied by a factor of at least four, threatened to paralyze the country, but a call to strike received only little notice. The rise in pump prices should help provide the beginnings of a solution in the stand-off between NAFTAL and private managers that has lasted several years, it is thought.

An increase on the same scale of prices for tobacco products also took effect beginning 7 March. Indeed prices for tobacco products should increase by more than 10 percent on average, the National Tobacco and Matches Company (SNTA) announced yesterday.

The SNTA explained this increase citing "new measures aimed at increasing benefit margins with respect to production and wholesale and retail distribution."

The same increase, on the same scale, goes back one year.

Sonatrach: Plans To Modernize Discussed

94AF0146B Algiers EL WATAN in French 16 Mar 94
p 13

[Article signed "K.M.": "Sonatrach: Strategic Redeployment"]

[Text] With the recent implementation of the new organizational scheme for its general management (see EL WATAN's issue No. 1049 dated Saturday, 12 March 1994), the national company Sonatrach [National Company for the Transport and Marketing of Hydrocarbons] has seriously initiated the first phase of three of its modernization plan.

This modernization process was explained by Mr. Abdelhak Bouhafs, Sonatrach's director-general, at a conference, which he gave in December 1993.

The first stage, covering the years 1992-95, aims at making Sonatrach an Algerian petroleum and industrial group having its hydrocarbon activity in every direction. This stage aims to strengthen the company's basic technical skills and seek excellence in these skills.

The second stage, which overlaps the first, goes from 1992 to the year 2000. The aim is to make Sonatrach an Algerian and international petroleum and industrial group throughout the energy field, in chemistry, and associated services.

Last the third stage, which will kick off the third millennium, should see Sonatrach turn into an Algerian and international petroleum group that is integrated and diversified in the new skills that have emerged out of the proximity of skills such as services, the farm-produce industry, etc. According to Mr. Bouhafs, four major phenomena arising from an analysis of the worldwide hydrocarbons economy argue in favor of such a modernization.

He first cited a return to integration, with an upwards return by Western companies and a downward expansion of activities by producing countries. Second, he noted the more pronounced breaking up of the market and the preeminence of stock market phenomena in the setting of international prices for the resource, resulting in their instability and their decrease in real terms. The third phenomenon related to the major technological expansion of international companies and their refocusing on the hydrocarbon industry.

Last, Mr. Bouhafs mentioned an affirmation of the role of a relatively recent player in the petroleum world, the petroleum group that had emerged from the producing countries. This development of the worldwide hydrocarbon industry convinced Sonatrach's leaders that an increase in petroleum receipts would be more the result of efficiency on the part of the petroleum group which, according to Mr. Bouhafs, will have to be different from Sonatrach's current organization in its technological development and structural and managerial reinforcement. In this spirit, the Sonatrach group will be built around three areas of responsibility:

- The group level, in which the general management will play the role of an industrial holding company.
- The operational activities branches level, which is responsible for activity management and development.
- The operational base unit level.

At the same time these organizational measures are being carried out, Sonatrach is continuing with its development plan begun in 1992 and that should make it possible, as of 1996, to double exports of natural gas, substantially increase GPL [expansion not given] and condensate production, and slow down the rate at which the production of crude oil is declining.

At his 22 December conference, Mr. Bouhafs wondered whether the oil market would come up to the expectations of Algerians who will have made very major investments to develop and modernize their petroleum and especially their gas industry. He replied as follows to his own question: "It is widely recognized that forecast analysts are influenced by economic conditions to the detriment of a prospective move. The last two decades have illustrated the implications of such a move: in the 1970's, it was the source of investments in the development of costly nonconventional energy sources and of excessive diversification strategies for the activities and skills of oil companies."

"These strategies and programs were abandoned several years later, with diametrically opposed goals: now the emphasis has been put on technology to improve the use of conventional petroleum and gas and generalize their use. (...) This reminder allows us not to ignore economic conditions but to generalize them. In other words, where we are concerned, we should pursue our petroleum and gas development plan."

Figures on Births, Marriages, Work, Housing

94AF0134B Algiers ALGERIE ACTUALITE in French
7 Feb 94 pp 11, 12

[Article by Abida Allouache: "A Few Facts About Today's Algerian"]

[Text] Statistics paint a confusing picture of contemporary Algerians. They spend more money on food than clothing and medical care, but the great majority live in their own homes, and overcrowding has reached critical proportions. Most Algerians have potable water, electricity, refrigerators, kitchen ranges, and black-and-white televisions. While the rate of demographic growth remains high, it is beginning to come down a little. But do not jump to hasty conclusions: It is not because people are having fewer children, but because they marry later in life. Marriage is an endangered institution! Housing is in terribly short supply, and working women, although highly skilled, are a marginal factor in the work force.

"A statistical portrait of the typical Algerian" would have been too presumptuous a title for this report. First of all, because statistics in Algeria are not all that reliable. The record of recent development planning shows statistics have not always been properly taken into account either.

As the country moves toward a market economy, statistics are an indispensable foundation for implementation of any serious structural adjustment plan.

About the best one can say is that thanks to ONS [National Office of Statistics], some statistics do exist. They paint a sort of picture of the typical Algerian, and it is not altogether a portrait of underdevelopment!

The first stereotype that must be jettisoned concerns demographic growth rate: Algeria, which had an abysmal record in this area, with one of the highest growth rates in the world, has been making efforts. Whereas in 1985 growth was 3.1 percent, the rate had fallen to 2.4 percent by 1992. Could this represent the effects of the economic recession that has hit Algerians so hard? No, the statistics seem to point rather to a trend toward marrying later in life. Indeed, the figures show a veritable crisis for marriage as an institution here, with people marrying later and later (the average age now is almost 30) in a country and society that has always favored early marriage. Today, it is not unusual to find single women in their late thirties.

The most commonly advanced explanation for this phenomenon is the housing problem. Young couples that are married legally—on paper, that is—sometimes divorce with the marriage never having been consummated because the couple was unable to find lodgings.

A wilaya-by-wilaya breakdown of marriage statistics for 1992 shows Algiers led with 13,466, followed by Setif with 6,957, while at the bottom end Illize had 77 and Tindouf only 100! It would be a mistake to deduce from

this that people marry less in the South. We suspect rather that the nomadic lifestyle in the south is less conducive to scrupulous recording of vital statistics.

At all events, more marriages were recorded for 1992 (159,380) than for 1985 (123,688).

800,000 Births

Birthrates in Algeria have changed greatly over the last 20 years. The adjusted fertility rate, or average number of births per woman, was 4.5 in 1990. But the absolute number of births remains very high at more than 800,000 per year. As for the decline in rate of natural population increase, it is too early to claim victory. The rate was 2.43 in 1992 compared to 2.41 in 1991. We will have to wait for figures from the following years (1993-94) to see whether the downward trend is going to continue, stabilize, or reverse.

As of 1 January 1993, total population was 26,600,000. Mean projections are 27.3 million for 1994 and 31.5 million for the year 2000. (There are low, medium, and high projections.)

As for the age structure of the population, 55 percent are under 20; the youthfulness of the population is a factor not taken into account by those who criticize us for our growth rates! Crude mortality is only six deaths per 1,000 population.

According to a 1992 ONS national manpower survey of 11,300 households from all parts of the country, there are 6,221,000 persons in the labor market, representing 23.4 percent of the population. But there are only 364,344 working women—just 5 percent of all Algerian women. By contrast, 41.4 percent of the male population is in the labor market.

The figures show women are still marginal factors in the labor market, notwithstanding statements or views to the contrary in certain misogynous circles. Another surprising fact about working women in Algeria is their high level of qualification: 22.22 percent of women workers are highly skilled, compared to 5.67 percent of the men. This spectacular reversal is also apparent in breakdowns by occupational category: 47.5 percent of the women are in liberal and quasi-liberal professions, compared to 10.74 percent of the men. The same thing is true for white-collar personnel: 23.33 percent of the women, compared to 9.76 percent of the men. Some 35 percent of male workers are uneducated or illiterate, compared to only 14 percent of the females.

So much for the stupid argument that working women encumber positions that should go to unemployed males. At any rate, generally speaking, a close examination of the job market shows that in any given sector the proportion of women employed is very small compared to the total.

Employment Low

In absolute terms, the number employed grew by more than 4.4 percent between 1991 and 1992, in other words by 260,000, including persons working at home or satisfying their national service obligation. Job-holders represent 76 percent of the country's work force but only 17.8 percent of total population! In other words, only one-fifth of the population is working, so that for every employed person in the country there are more than five others not working. Despite the youth and structure of Algeria's population, the rate of employment thus remains very low.

The total number unemployed is 1,480,000, 83 percent of whom are younger than age 30. While unemployment undeniably hits young people hardest, our judgment about these figures must be tempered somewhat by the fact that a large part of the country's actual economic activity is in the informal or black-market sector. And many young people are involved in it. Trade in contraband food and cigarettes will doubtless continue to grow, and not just because of unemployment. Most young people involved in contraband earn a much better livelihood than they would if employed in white-collar jobs, for which moreover they lack the academic credentials. According to statistics, however, 92 percent of the jobless are being taken care of by family or parents. Long live family solidarity and the extended family! In other parts of the world, the jobless are being retrained—or if not, they huddle shamefacedly on the margins and try to fade into the woodwork. Here, a goodly number of unemployed youth strut about in the most stylish jeans and basketball shoes, cigarette dangling from their lips, just "hanging out" as professional fashion plates—something of a national pastime for males.

Far be it from us to downplay the anguish of unemployment, but we must also recognize that if a survey were ever made of the number of hours employees actually spend on the job, one would find few Algerians actually work as much as 50 percent of their scheduled hours.

Whether it is a matter of conditioned reflexes or firmly established behavior patterns, most Algerians are not disciplined or efficient workers. And this is true at every level, starting at the top. Leveling down and mediocrity have taken an incalculable toll. Why such negative attitudes? Sure, the "system" has a lot to do with it. But that is a story in itself!

To return to our remarks at the beginning, with statistics from the 1992 manpower survey we can paint a portrait of the typical Algerian household.

Get ready for some surprises: The typical household is in owned, not rented, lodgings (64 percent), generally single-family housing (a category that includes traditional houses). When all types of housing are considered, the most typical domicile has three rooms (30 percent), while only 18 percent are single-room units. Eighty-nine

percent of households have electricity, 69 percent have potable water, and 65 percent are connected to sewer systems.

High Occupancy

Some 84.51 percent of households have a kitchen, but only 35 percent have a bathroom. Among household durables, refrigerators are found in the largest number of households (76.8 percent), an oven in 69 percent, and a kitchen range in 53 percent. Color television is becoming more and more common, now being found in 32 percent of households. About 62 percent of households have black-and-white television. Some type of heating is found in 57.4 percent of households. Sewing machines are found more frequently (22 percent of households) than knitting machines. There is an automobile in 17.3 percent of Algerian households.

Telephones (20 percent) and parabolic antennas (13.4 percent) are still relatively uncommon in Algerian households.

About 5.55 percent of households were described as living in substandard housing in 1992, compared to 9.3 percent in 1977. Some 16 percent of housing units were rental, and 19 percent were rent free.

The per-room occupancy rate was 2.65 in 1987, and is close to 3.0 now. According to international standards, overcrowding is acceptable when per-room occupancy is less than 2.0 and critical when the rate is 2.1 to 3.3; beyond that, overcrowding is unacceptable. In Algeria, therefore, residential overcrowding is now at a critical level!

It is interesting to note that Algerians spend more for food than clothing, rent, utilities, and medical care. According to the decennial consumption survey for 1988, our typical citizen spends 44 percent of his household income on food, 11.5 percent for clothing and shoes, and 11.49 percent for transportation and communication. Housing and other rental expenses take 5.6 percent; education, cultural activities, and leisure together only come to 6.5 percent. A relatively small share, 3.3 percent, goes for hygiene and health, much less than is spent on furniture (6.8 percent). Average per capita expenses in 1988 came to 8,873 Algerian dinars [DA], so that a five-person household spent DA40,000. With devaluation of the dinar and soaring inflation, you can imagine what the figures will be for 1994. The ravages must be tremendous!

Projected Receipts From Hydrocarbons Down

94AF0125C Algiers EL WATAN in French 2 Mar 94
pp 1, 3

[Article by Khaled Mahrez: "1994: Tough Year for Algeria"; first paragraph is EL WATAN introduction]

[Text] The first two months of the year were all it took to convince Algerian officials to tone down the optimistic

forecasts they had made at the start of the year regarding revenues from hydrocarbon exports.

Abdelhak Bouhafs, director general of Sonatrach [National Company for the Transport and Marketing of Hydrocarbons], announced on National Radio's Network 3 the day before yesterday that revenues from hydrocarbon exports this year were expected to be on the order of \$8 billion, based on an average price of \$15 per barrel of Algerian crude.

That forecast is down sharply from the definitely more optimistic figures set by the government in drawing up the 1994 budget, when it was expecting an average price of \$18 per barrel and, therefore, export revenues on the order of \$9.5 billion. That revision of revenue forecasts for 1994 will drastically alter the government's calculations and make it necessary to draft a supplementary budget to put the state's accounts back in balance and hold the budget deficit at the 125 billion dinars originally established.

Above all, such a level of revenues is going to complicate Algeria's financial situation with respect to the rest of the world. It had been expected that export revenues would at least cover reimbursement of the debts falling due this year (\$9.5 billion). Now that revenues of \$8 billion are being expected, Algeria finds itself in a very tight spot as far as its foreign partners are concerned, especially since the government is engaged in tough negotiations with the IMF to obtain new payment facilities in exchange for adopting a program to adjust its economy.

But at the end of last December, during a lecture before an audience of diplomats and journalists at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Bouhafs had professed optimism regarding an improvement in crude oil prices on world markets.

At the moment, however, the fact remains that while the prospect of a standby credit agreement with the IMF for a few hundred million dollars to be used during a transitional period—the figure of \$800 million is being mentioned—represents only a relative injection of fresh money, it gives reason to hope for gestures of good will from Algeria's creditors.

Algeria will then have to negotiate with its "bankers."

The fact is that the European capitals have stated, and are continuing to state, that they are willing to help Algeria provided that it reaches an agreement with the IMF.

But that should in no way keep us from taking advantage of this breathing spell granted by the IMF to put in place a number of mechanisms of a social nature—an unemployment fund and unemployment insurance, among other things—since doing so would make the effects of the structural adjustment more bearable for the most underprivileged.

New Customs Regulations Explained

94AF0105B Algiers LIBERTE in French 9 Feb 94 p 5

[Article by Nassim Kouba: "Lowering of Customs Duties"—first paragraph is LIBERTE introduction]

[Text] Mr. Khelifi, director of the Information and Documentation Center of the General Directorate for Customs, explains the new measures. A package of changes that should allow customs to fully play its role in the country's economy and simplify procedures for users....

Cognizant of the vital importance of lowering customs duties, the customs services have opted for new customs clearance procedures for users. Elimination of the compensatory tax under the new "customs code" should give the system more flexibility.

That tax is, first of all, fiscal, duty based, and covers unpaid imports. In fiscal terms, the new system will eliminate the compensatory tax per se and integrate its provisions respecting certain classes of goods into the "customs code," customs tariffs, the "turnover tax" (TCA), or the excise tax code.

The measure providing for integration of the compensatory tax affects tobaccos and beers. It will also affect domestic consumption duties (wines, alcoholic beverages, lubricants), surety duties on all items made of precious metals, value-added tax on certain products and merchandise not subject to specific fiscal measures, and finally customs duties.

In this optic, and as a stimulus to the country's productive apparatus, a reduction of the tax burden is planned for imports of raw materials and semimanufactures, to "oxygenate" enterprises and give them the ability to safeguard resources needed for economic recovery.

Along the same lines, and the better to support domestic production, a hike in customs duty rates for products made in Algeria will be effected. This modification will also include substitution of a specific tax over and above the compensatory tax for certain nonessential and luxury products to be listed in an executive decree.

The move to give the regulations (customs code) greater flexibility entails elimination of all obstacles to users and makes for better harmonization with international norms, so the state is not left to bear the burden by itself. The second measure, which is customs-related, will cover updating of previous duty thresholds.

Its first objective is to increase exemptions from duties and taxes on changes of residence and on nonresidents; authorized ceilings will be raised from 800,000 Algerian dinars[DA] to 1 million for students and trainees, and to DA1.5 million for other nonresident nationals. Also, the maximum value of objects in the possession of travelers that may be summarily confiscated upon discovery is increased from DA1,000 to DA30,000. These so-called

trivial items consist of perishable goods and clothing articles that customs may give to hospitals and hospices.

The old law basically forced travelers to appear in court for any merchandise exceeding DA1,000 in value, which created an enormous caseload for customs officials. The reduction of caseload should spare the customs service a great many headaches.

The second part of this package will give customs a more powerful deterrent against unlawful capital exports and give Treasury increased powers to recapture duties. This measure would contribute to the fight against unlawful capital flight.

It involves extension of the obligatory security deposit, hitherto required only for temporary importation of materials and equipment for transformation, repair, etc., and for temporary exports.

This measure was needed owing to constant abuses in this domain, with users failing to live up to the terms of their declarations. Up to now people enjoyed the use of duties and taxes belonging to the state. In effect, the state was supporting "one-way inflation." In some cases, products were never repatriated; in others, materials themselves were never returned. By way of example, some trawlers whose owners had made claims for temporary reimbursement never returned to the country.

In some cases, trawlers that had been granted temporary reimbursement were operating outside Algeria's territorial waters without there being any means of monitoring to stop these practices. However, this measure will not be applied universally, since enterprises of respectable financial standing will be allowed to post unsecured bond.

Utilization of banking products to execute discount settlements under the new customs regime is another example of meeting the customs service's concern for increased efficiency in handling customs duties.

A first new product has already been introduced. This is interest on duty credit and delayed interest. Use of this product allows the state to avoid bearing real losses due to high rates of inflation. It is an effective contribution that will help resorb inflation by having everyone contribute.

In addition to eliminating unfair competition against banks and contributing to better instrumentalization of the market economy, the new procedures provide incentives for importers to move merchandise out of depot sites more quickly.

With regard to disputes over vehicles seized at the border in cases where they were used for purposes of fraud, the customs administration announces it will no longer confiscate vehicles automatically, so as not to inconvenience ordinary citizens.

Risks of vehicle depreciation, the cumbersomeness of bureaucratic procedures, and the desire of the customs

service to spare citizens unnecessary problems were the principal motives behind revision of this statute.

The third measure, as previously noted, has to do with unpaid imports. The first point relates to revision of the list of items that cannot be imported or exported.

This involves only products capable of effecting the Algerian market as a whole. It was decided to give domestic enterprises the opportunity to get organized before the country makes the transition to a market economy.

Also, to ensure the country has an adequate food supply, exports of food staples have been suspended. The unofficial exchange rate, notably vis-a-vis Morocco (1 dirham to 8 Algerian dirhams), is a factor that encourages outflow of foodstuffs from the country. [sentence as published]

Harmonization of customs laws and regulations should help protect the domestic economy and achieve a balance between taxation and social protection. But it remains to be seen how they will work in practice.

EGYPT

Social, Political Tensions in Asyut Favor Terrorism

Political Scene Reviewed

94LD0036A Cairo AL-AHRAM in Arabic 30 Mar 94
p 3

[Interviews with Muhammad 'Abd-al-Muhsin Salih, NDP general secretary and local council head for Asyut Governorate; Husam al-Kilani, People's Assembly member for Dayrut; Jamil Abu-'Aqrab, People's Assembly member for Abu Tij; Shaykh Ramadan Haykal, chief Awqaf Ministry officer in Asyut; and Ahmad Qasim, Education Ministry undersecretary in Asyut; by Ahmad Musa and Hisham al-Zayni in Asyut, Dayrut, and Abu Tij; place and date not given: "Terrorism in Asyut—How Long? They Defend Their Negligence!"—first two paragraphs are AL-AHRAM introduction]

[Text] Observers of the present situation in Asyut find the police alone in confronting the darkness-loving bats of terrorism. It is a tremendous weight to bear. The security apparatus alone will never be enough to clear Asyut's soil of the roots of terrorism or to dry up its well-springs of deluded youths, especially among students and teachers. Where are the political parties—particularly the majority ruling National [Democratic] Party (NDP), with its cadres, parliamentary deputies, and People's Assembly members? What role are the Education and Awqaf Ministries and preachers playing in training mosque imams to counter terrorist ideas? Many other questions need to be asked in order to

advance the confrontation with terrorism, so that all the forces of the people participate in it.

To begin, we raised the following questions with Muhammad 'Abd-al-Muhsin Salih, the NDP general secretary and local council head for Asyut Governorate: How do the terrorists commit their crimes in broad daylight and then disappear? Where are the members of 49 local councils, who in Asyut number in the thousands?

[Salih] Unfortunately no one in the media mentions the positive things that the People's Assembly, local councils, and the party are doing. Many years ago—in 1987 to be exact—we organized the Islamic Meeting Place for Youth. We were able to recruit 4,000 students to stand against the extremist currents in the university, though these currents had the upper hand and strong influence. We expanded to set up 10 associations for students from the different governorates. We went to the Student Union, which was under extremist control, and battled them in 1988 and 1989. At present, we have penetrated the walls of the university by winning all 40 seats. The clashes with the police began when the extremists took to the streets. Their remnants have gone into hideouts and the areas of random development.

[AL-AHRAM] Then why are incidents of terrorism increasing in Asyut?

[Salih] The terrorist Islamic Group still has all its strength and organizations in al-Minya and Sawhaj; there is no confrontation there. It is clear that a mutual understanding is evolving in those two governorates about not carrying out incidents of violence. As a result, elements of these groups flee to commit their crimes in the territory of Asyut, the place closest to the two governorates to the north and south. There must be cooperation between the groups in the three governorates. The Asyut elements direct, harbor, and aid those who come to them from the north and south. Their centers of operation are the towns of Dayrut, Sidfa, Abu Tij, and recently al-Badari. What happened in the center of the city last December with the assassination of Brigadier General Muhammad Tu'aymah was a reaction to the storming of al-Rahmah Mosque. These are the full facts.

Settling Scores

[AL-AHRAM] Where is the role of the party and the people's assemblies? Why are they absent from the scene?

[Salih] The first party secretariat at the national level organized a conference last April to study the reasons for extremism and propose solutions. Participants included all political forces and parties—except the Labor Party—the professional associations, the ulema, and intellectuals. Its most important recommendation was to form committees for reconciliation and education. Their mission would be to move among the clans and tribes in 242 villages, because the Islamic Group has concentrated on

the clans in enlisting its members, especially in Dayrut. I admit that the police are battling an unknown foe. It was necessary to penetrate these groups and reach the second- and third-rank members who were going to penetrate the schools. We have resisted them in the elementary schools throughout the past two years.

We carry no weapons in our confrontation with them, but we have turned over numerous repentant leaders of these groups to the police. We reached 30 persons and handed them over to State Security. Members of the party and the local councils were on the scene only 10 minutes after the recent crime in Sidfa and transported the victims. We are helping the police. The role of politicians and grass-roots figures in Asyut is being denied in order to settle scores. Our role now goes beyond the city limits. We have committees working in all the cities, towns, villages, and hamlets. They provide the security apparatus with information. I can reveal some of these secrets. The dens that the police stormed in al-Ma'sarah, al-Zawiyah al-Hamra', and al-Sayyidah Zaynab were stormed because of instructions and clues that came from Asyut. In general, most of the perpetrators of the incidents in Asyut were from outside. This confirms that it is a governorate that expels terrorism, as evidenced by the fact that most of the Islamic Group leaders whom the police apprehended in Imbabah, Alexandria, Damanhur, Cairo, and al-Minya had fled Asyut in the wake of our activity against them.

[AL-AHRAM] People say you began dialogue with some terrorist leaders, including Salah Rajab. Is it true?

[Salih] The dialogue began in 1992. I received a telephone call from the Islamic Group after the police took control of al-Rahmah Mosque in Asyut. They asked me for a dialogue. State Security did not refuse. I sat with them from 1700 until 1900 in continuous talks. The goal was to stop the violence for two months in return for certain demands. After these sessions they said they would submit the matter by various ways to "their brother leaders" who were in prison. They asked for a week's delay. However, it stretched on for 22 days, during which the incidents erupted. This led to a halt to the dialogue, particularly as we had asked them to lay down their arms immediately. Incidentally, we are going to reshape party formations in any area where individuals prove not to have cooperated with information in the fight against terrorists. We have begun with the youth secretariat by appointing new assistant secretaries. We will combat any passivity. We are now inventorying the extremists in every home and monitoring their movements in order to confront them. I should say that there are about 12 terrorist military wing members in Asyut, in addition to between 50 and 200 of the second rank.

Handing Over Terrorist Leaders

Leaving Muhammad 'Abd-al-Muhsin Salih, we went to Dayrut, one of the constant focal points of violence, where we met Husam al-Kilani, People's Assembly member in Dayrut.

[Al-Kilani] The charge that we have not played a role on the scene is wrong. I intervened in 1983 to break up the first discussion group held in al-Rahman Mosque. We went with the police to break up the gathering after meeting the group's amir at the time, Salah Rajab. I published announcements in the newspapers asking the members of these groups to repent and turn themselves in. I succeeded in handing over more than 150 members in Dayrut, foremost among them the amir of Dayrut, Khalid Sa'd.

[AL-AHRAM] Why is the violence in Dayrut greater than in the other cities of Asyut [governorate]?

[Al-Kilani] Social problems and material conditions lead young people to join the terrorist groups.

[AL-AHRAM] What role have you played in confronting these problems?

[Al-Kilani] Thirteen months ago I called for a project to help 17,000 graduates, 7,000 of them from Dayrut. We made a thorough study of 10,000 feddans of desert that could be irrigated and farmed. Such projects serve young people who have been waiting 10 years for government employment. The Islamic Group is trying to enlist these needy youths. They join the groups in return for money from which they can pay personal expenses!

We were not slow to help illiteracy. Many of the guardians of members of the groups would come to hand over their sons through me. Our role as People's Assembly members makes for double responsibility between the people of my constituency and security officials. I have asked the latter to open the Dayrut youth center to young people and move the concentration of armored vehicles away from it. This in fact took place a few days ago. Nowadays, Dayrut is undisturbed by the terrorist operations that flared up two years ago.

Trust Required

We went to Jamil Abu-'Aqrab, the People's Assembly member in Abu Tij, and asked him:

[AL-AHRAM] The charge leveled against you is that you did not help to apprehend your cousin 'Abd-al-Hamid, the leader of the terrorist groups' military wing, when he was charged with the assassination of Major General al-Shimi last year.

[Abu-'Aqrab] If I see 'Abd-al-Hamid, I will hand him over to the police. I will not cover up any person, however close his kinship, who disrupts the peace and is a tool to threaten the regime. The accused is a fugitive who has not been present in the city since the crime in which he participated. Our relationship with him is in the name of his grandfather; he is not my cousin. All the same, he is a germ that shall be rooted out of our family. I am revealing no secret if I say that if he got hold of me he would kill me!

[AL-AHRAM] But in general you are not among those who are helping the police.

[Abu-'Aqrab] I think I am one of the members of parliament who spend most of their time helping the police, providing them with advice and needed information from our various sources.

[AL-AHRAM] A dispute is said to have occurred between you and the governor of Asyut because of your not cooperating with the police.

[Abu-'Aqrab] Our relations with Governor Samih al-Sa'id are good. There is full understanding on all matters. All People's Assembly and Consultative Council members feel they are backing the police with all the information they possess. None of them has ever hesitated in the face of requests by police officers involving search for a person, access to his home, or the places to which he may have escaped. We are calling for more trust between the two sides.

Sympathy with Islamic Group

We went to Shaykh Ramadan Haykal, the chief officer of the Awqaf [Ministry] in Asyut.

[AL-AHRAM] What role has the Awqaf [Ministry] played in heading off the extremist current in Asyut?

[Haykal] Our role is to immunize people against extremism. We therefore hold periodic meetings with the people. The ulema meet every Monday with people in the mosques to inform them about true religion. I don't deny that people at first were sympathetic with the Islamic Group. However, after they discovered that what they were doing had a purely political goal apart from Islam, they broke with them. The Awqaf [Ministry] sets down a monthly plan of subjects to be raised in the Friday sermon for each town and city. This is done through a weekly meeting with the ulema and preachers to agree on the sermon. For example, preachers had to deal from the pulpit with the recent events in Sidfa and Abu Tij. This is completely different from the Friday sermon in other mosques in other cities.

We are not hostile to Muslim young people. It is in their interest to listen to us, because we know better than they about the Koran and Prophetic tradition. Unfortunately, the Islamic Group does not listen to what the ulema say. Indeed, when the minister of awqaf comes to us, they boycott his meetings. I don't know why.

[AL-AHRAM] How did the Awqaf Ministry leave al-Rahmah Mosque to the control of the extremist groups?

[Haykal] Before we speak about al-Rahmah Mosque, we must know how the Islamic Group took control of it. At first the Islamic Group concentrated in the mosque of the Islamic Law Association (Abu Bakr al-Siddiq). This mosque, with its lecture hall and student lodging, is one of the largest Islamic complexes. Being near the university, it became one of the most important centers for the Islamic Group. They used to spread out all along the road leading from the mosque to the university and took to carrying on their activities and meetings inside the

Law Association [mosque]. When the imam assigned by Awqaf tried to carry out his mission, he collided with the Islamic Group. A fight broke out between him and the Islamic Group. The Awqaf called on police officers for assistance, and the Association's mosque was taken back after bloodshed. So they fled and took over the privately built al-Rahmah Mosque after expelling its imam. When we turned to the police, they told us to leave them alone!

[AL-AHRAM] Finally, Shaykh Ramadan Haykal told us:

[Haykal] Religious education plays no role in the schools. The religion class is peripheral. The teacher present in the school is not an example for the students—and religion is behavior. I am asking for a religious guide in every school to whom students can turn to ask about any unclear points in religion. The Egyptian people are genuinely religious, as shown by the fact that when a child sees his father pray, he does likewise.

[AL-AHRAM] Education and educational policy in Asyut are in the prisoner's dock. Where is the role of learning? Is there commitment? Do the schools lack social workers to serve as psychological and social analysts to protect against extremism? We placed all these questions before Ahmad Qasim, the Education Ministry's undersecretary in Asyut, who leveled with us.

[Qasim] Asyut witnessed a series of strikes at Asyut University in the late seventies. The movement was very active in the faculties of education and medicine. The movement abated under the pressure of expulsion and rustication, but the activities can still be found in the university. Then they infiltrated into the schools; they were not from within. We therefore assigned a security official in all schools—a teacher to notify ministry provincial headquarters of everything happening in the school and therefore the people to arrest in terrorist incidents, whether they were students or teachers. They have not carried on their activities or propaganda in school, or we should have known and taken steps against them. I have instructed school principals of the need to inform me immediately of any violations, even by teachers. Last year it happened that two teachers insulted each other during the morning line-up. I accordingly took the legal step of transfer.

[AL-AHRAM] On what bases are teachers chosen for the job?

[Qasim] The school must approve the teacher's honesty and integrity. Then the National Security Investigation Bureau is informed, so that it can investigate his affiliations and determine his suitability; for teachers educate and spread values among an entire generation.

[AL-AHRAM] Does the ministry's provincial apparatus lack social workers?

[Qasim] Society has three enemies: poverty, ignorance, and disease. These blights must be cured by a comprehensive development plan. Since we suffer from these problems, the largest possible number of social workers

must be provided in the schools. Strangely, Asyut's schools suffer an 80 percent shortage of social workers. This is the most important element in my plan against terrorism and extremism. I also face a shortage in the category of social resources and a shortage of 1,500 teachers in science in addition to my requirements.

[AL-AHRAM] How is education playing a role in overcoming the rise of terrorism?

[Qasim] After the revolution, instances of blood vengeance were largely overcome. Intensive meetings were held between Azharites, the police, and influential figures in the country, and they laid out an overall strategy to treat this social custom. In order for there to be similar cooperation in treating the phenomenon of terrorism in Asyut, we are asking for the following educational plan: reducing class size; abolishing double sessions; and splitting up schools with over 3,000 students. Also, police personnel should cooperate with administrations and schools. Security posts should be set up in the large schools, staffed by police officers, retired officers, or soldiers. Every preparatory and secondary school must be provided with a soldier for protection.

[Box, p 3]

Illiteracy Plays Role

There are 545,000 students in Asyut Governorate and 1,219 schools with 62,000 employees. Nevertheless, there is a high drop-out rate. Fathers merely pay a 5-pound fine if their children do not attend primary school, so that they can use them to till the ground or do farm work in return for wages that help support them.

[Box, p 3]

Asyut's Mosques

There are 955 mosques with imams and ulema in Asyut. There are 1,650 privately built mosques to which preachers for the Friday service have been assigned. There are still 300 small mosques not under the auspices of the Awqaf Ministry or included in its plan.

This year, 300 private mosques were joined to the Awqaf Ministry. The ministry plays a limited social role through alms (*zakah*) and contributions. It regularly gives about 100,000 pounds a month to 8,000 individuals throughout the governorate.

Leadership Crisis Detailed

94LD0036B Cairo AL-MUSAWWAR in Arabic
1 Apr 94 pp 18-19, 76

[Article by Hamdi Rizq: "Asyut: Crisis Between Governor and NDP"]

[Text] In Asyut there is no single reality on which people agree. People say that there has been a sharp disagreement between the NDP's [National Democratic Party] group of 26 and the region's governor, Major General

Samih al-Sa'id, in a scenario that repeated the crisis of the current interior minister, Major General Hasan al-Alfi, with the same group before he took over the ministry last April.

People are also talking about how the Asyut police now have a list of the most notorious families involved in supporting terrorism, especially the Abu-Sayf family of al-Qusiyah and the Abu-'Aqrab family of Abu Tij. Secret reports now call for disarming these families of their licensed and unlicensed weapons. Implementation actually began in al-Qusiyah among the members of the Abu-Sayf family.

On the basis of unnamed sources, people hint that the NDP still has failed to confront terrorism, despite its village grass roots organizations known as committees of 20. Some people react to these with ridicule; others ignore them, regardless of the stress that the party's secretary, Muhammad 'Abd-al-Muhsin, places on them.

People in Asyut talk of these and many other things as they sit at the Majestic Cafe across from the station. What is not talked about there or at the Lu'lu'ah Cafe is anything related to the terrorist groups—their number, their spread, their various weapons, their recent entry into the university and enlistment of a number of its students, and the explosion in Bank Square and the Badr Tourist Hotel during the last week of Ramadan.

Here in Asyut the fire is not only under the ashes; it is on top of them and around them, as shown by the mounted patrols, the nighttime and daytime ambushes deployed everywhere, and the search and investigate operations that allow no one to pass without an identity card to serve as a permit. Everyone is subject to suspicion until someone higher up intervenes to release him.

No sooner did suspicious cases begin to increase in the city of Asyut, neighboring villages, and the 11 district centers, than NDP members began to intervene in every village and hamlet to free suspects. They had two motives. First, most suspects were from these families, related to these families, or had rallied under their banner. Second, primary elections for the People's Assembly were close; and these measures, though largely successful in preventing terrorists from entering populous cities and in keeping them and their activities on the outskirts, would have a negative effect on the popularity of each member in his constituency if he were unable to have his constituents released from police hands immediately.

This was how the split developed between many district police officers in the villages and NDP members from the People's Assembly, the Consultative Council, and the local council. It was not unusual to find a member of the People's Assembly sitting with his family to have suspects released and brought back to the villages they had left.

Some of them approached Governor Samih al-Sa'id, asking him to soften these measures, especially as the

security chief was also busy with his security plans on which he would make not the slightest concession, given last month's rise in terrorist operations. These included the recent Sidfa incident and the attack on a police car, with the response that killed six terrorists. The governor told us that the measure was necessary to tighten control and that he was fully satisfied with it and in agreement with the security chief on the matter. The measure had led to positive results that Asyut citizens now could see in the streets. The Interior Ministry in Cairo knew about it and had not objected.

The other cause of the split was that the governor was widely reported to have accused NDP members publicly at several meetings—despite his good relations with them at funerals, weddings, and so forth—of being passive and not having done anything against terrorism. Both Siraj Abu-Sayf, the People's Assembly member from al-Qusiyah, and Muhammad Ahmad Husayn from Asyut stated this. The two are on opposite sides, but both agree that the governor is accusing the members of being passive: "We ought to have grabbed a machine gun and run after the terrorists who are challenging the police! Are we stronger, or are the police, with all their weapons and equipment? Our role is to educate and help; entering a war with terrorism is another responsibility."

Perhaps it was the governor's most recent accusation—for his part, he has utterly denied it, claiming it was a mere difference of opinion, nothing to spoil friendship, and that they were united against terrorism—that opened wide the door to the rumor of a split between the governor and the NDP's so-called group of 26. Furthermore, the governor proclaimed this accusation in a public meeting with members during the 'Id al-Fitr vacation. All of them reacted badly, particularly since the governor repeated the charges in his private meetings. He even accused Siraj Abu-Sayf of passivity, greatly incensing Abu-Sayf, who is now talking to officials in Cairo to discuss the matter and settle the disagreement. He asks everyone he meets, "What shall I do? Am I to fight terrorism with my own hands?"

All the NDP members say they are working against terrorism. According to Mahmud Abu-Aqrab, the NDP's youth secretary in Abu Tij, the party's 20-member base committees are touring villages, alerting the people, and asking them to cooperate. "But not all our services to security or to the public are announced in the newspapers, lest they become a target for terrorism."

The governor told AL-MUSAWWAR in a recorded interview that they are trying to portray the situation between him and the People's Assembly members as a repeat scenario of the previous crisis of Major General Hasan al-Alfi. "However, there is absolutely no disagreement. The charges have absolutely no truth. I deny it in the press and to everyone. We are in complete agreement."

Denial of the Denial

The sole fact in the case is that security chief Majdi al-Basyuni issued an order for 'Abd-al-Ma'bud Khalifah Abu-Sayf, Rushdi Khalifah, Hisham Salih, and Khalid Mursi Salih to surrender their weapons as soon as they received the notification. They were given 10 days, which ended last Sunday—the time these lines were written.

According to our information, the first has a semi-automatic German pistol. The second has a German pistol and rifle. The last has a German pistol. The third has a pistol. Rushdi turned in his gun, but the three others are awaiting the results of efforts by family head Siraj Abu-Sayf with officials in Cairo, particularly as all these guns are licensed and details about them are known to the Interior Ministry and State Security offices in Asyut.

Perhaps this was the beginning of a campaign to collect guns from families in Asyut. Major General 'Abd-al-Wahhab al-Hilali had already collected 60 guns from the Abu-Aqrab family in a single campaign. Strangely, the weapons were returned to the family after al-Hilali was removed and transferred on orders from Cairo.

No one answered our question about why these two families in particular. However, there is information that the dangerous extremist Murtada Muhammad Khalifah Abu-Sayf comes from the Abu-Sayf family. He was on the list of suspects in the events of 1981. From the second family comes the leader of the military wing in Abu Tij, 'Abd-al-Hamid Abu-Aqrab, who assassinated Major General al-Shimi in one of the most serious terrorist incidents ever to occur in Asyut. The former has fled to Saudi Arabia; the second is still in the center of Asyut.

Siraj Abu-Sayf told AL-MUSAWWAR: "We expelled this terrorist long ago. Everyone knows that he has lived outside the country for more than six years. Are they holding the Abu-Sayf family, which has lost two members as victims to terrorist incidents, accountable for a man outside Egypt who has not been proved guilty of the recent actions? The opposition is the cause of all this. The governor listens to them and keeps repeating after them that Siraj Abu-Sayf is uncooperative. I am more cooperative than any person in Asyut. If police officers, men, and detectives now are afraid of terrorism, are we to stand against it? My area is completely secure. It is they who are doing this—first of all the governor. I won't keep quiet about it. I will turn the world upside down. Instead of honoring us, they came to take our guns. So how are we to fight terrorism and ward off those guys?"

He continued: "What's strange is that the MP's [members of Parliament] are afraid to talk lest people say, 'Are you going to cause trouble with every governor?' Fine, and what the opposition keeps saying, about there being a repaying of old accounts with Minister al-Alfi—how are we to reply to it? I am in Cairo. The MP's telephoned me from Asyut and said, 'We are with you all the way.' I

am going to talk to all the officials until the problem is resolved and the weapons come back to our home. What happened was unreasonable."

Mahmud Abu-'Aqrab, the spokesman for the family that is the other party to the case, told us: "We turned in more than six extremists, including the emir of Abu Tij itself. What more can we do? Al-Hilali charged us with concealing 'Abd-al-Hamid Abu-'Aqrab. He knows we were the first people who became targets of his group. It got so bad that I was shot at in the town. We politicians can do nothing but talk, educate, and move the masses. If you tell me to pick up a gun and fight terrorism, then you are advocating civil war in Asyut. Furthermore, 'Abd-al-Hamid was on the streets, not hiding in his home. All the terrorists are known by name—yet who has taken them? If I picked up a rifle, I'd be a terrorist!"

"Accusing us of terrorism is shameful. We are sacrificing ourselves for the country. Everyone is doing it. Shall I or my family agree to sacrifice our entire history because of one fellow who is an extremist? As for the matter of the 60 guns, they were all licensed. They cost one-half million pounds. Ninety percent of us are farmers. How can we guard our farms and livestock? The rifles are for guarding, not terrorism. They can't be smuggled out for terrorism."

Witness for the Prosecution

Muhammad Ahmad Husayn is a People's Assembly member for Asyut. People classify him as being by himself, apart from the 26. If the latter choose the right, he chooses the left without a thought. He strongly rejected moving through the NDP when they contacted him to begin moving at the village level—the ones that the governor indicated in his noisy meeting on the second day of the holiday, or, as people call it, "the problem meeting." Husayn's argument is that such moves serve no purpose or goal, especially if they come from executives and if executives or even popular figures prepare them. Before any such moves, the NDP must be cleaned up. "I said in the most recent meeting that the NDP first must be cleansed from inside from drug traffickers and previous offenders. Corrupt people are not going to fight terrorism. I told the governor to clean up the party."

The governor told AL-MUSAWWAR that he was responsible for NDP members and that the party secretary consulted him about options. As an example of this coordination, he told us how the two together had tried to settle the al-Badari People's Assembly seat on the Murad household in an unopposed election as a kind of honor to the memory of the late Murad Husayn, the holder of the now vacant seat. The governor added that he was completely satisfied with these choices because they were in no way deficient. The matter had been submitted to everyone: anyone who found something wrong should hasten to set it right.

The information being handed about is that improper choices have been made in the party and that with some

village-level party secretaries no consideration was given to good behavior, ethics, or reputation. One of them in the village of Naj' Sabu' is accused of wiretapping the telephone booth in the village, like another in the village of Rifa, a third in al-Zawiyah, and so on. Is this what Ahmad Husayn has in mind when he speaks about cleaning up the party? Perhaps. We repeat that in Asyut there is no single reality on which people agree.

The chasm between the governor and the NDP members is widening—if it is indeed the case that during Samih al-Sa'id's entire year in Asyut, Siraj Abu-Sayf has entered al-Sa'id's office only three times, after which he decided not to enter [again] because the governor was always busy for hours. Similarly, Hamid Hisham from Abnub has threatened never to enter the governor's office during his tenure in Asyut. Jamil Abu-'Aqrab has asked only to be given equal treatment with the journalists who go in and out of the governor's office.

In fact, while I was interviewing the governor for AL-MUSAWWAR, I noticed on his desk two envelopes packed with papers from Husam al-Kilani from Dayrut and from another member that the two wanted signed. The governor pointed to the envelopes and said, "These are requests from [parliamentary] deputies. Where are the disagreements about which they are talking?"

The same scenario that happened with al-Alfi. This time the members are not speaking openly about it to the press, but they are speaking critically in private sessions. However, when they are confronted with it, they deny it. In sessions with the governor they turn into butter and honey, and it's "All's well; the grass roots committees are working according to your excellency's plan." Nevertheless, the split is apparent. There is no one in all Asyut who cannot see it.

The Islamic Group?

All this is happening now on the bright side of the picture in Asyut. As for the hidden side—we mean the extremists—according to our exclusive information there are at highest estimate no more than 40 extremists to be found in the 11 districts. Each works in his district without a single link or central planning. In particular, the Islamic Group has have not yet settled the question of their amir after the recent death of Tharwat Hajjaj in Cairo. A virtual struggle is now taking place. On one side is the faction of Rif'at Zaydan 'Abdallah. His police dossier says that he was born on 2 July 1970 on the 'Abd-al-Baqi estate in Dayrut district. He is a student at the Commercial Art Institute. His father was an al-Sharqiyah peasant from the village of Bani Yahya, but they fled the village because of a vendetta, his father and uncle having been accused of killing their cousin, the government-employed night watchman. He is among the 11 dangerous terrorists whom the Interior Ministry publicized after the attempted assassination of Minister Safwat al-Sharif.

The other faction—relatively newer—is led by a face completely new on the Asyut scene: Najih Mahmud

'Abd-al-Latif. He is 35 years old and from Tall Zaydan on al-Badari Island. He is thought to be the leader of that area, which is still difficult for the police, given his long experience in military work. He was a major, but was discharged for belonging to the extremist groups. People say that his entry into the terrorist team lies behind the recent upsurge in terrorist actions and that he was primarily responsible for the 23 February attack on al-Badari Island's police detachment, which killed a police car driver, Ahmad Hajjaj, and wounded six other members of the detachment. The attack made off from the island with 12 Kalashnikov rifles, a Carl Gustav machine gun, and eight assorted guns. The case is now under investigation by the al-Badari prosecutor.

The rest of the terrorist list includes Salih 'Id 'Abd-al-'Azim Khalil, alias "al-Sadat." He was born in 1971 in the village of Bani Qurrah and holds a vocational secondary diploma. His brother, 'Atif 'Id, 30 years old, holds an agricultural diploma and lives in the same village. Ahmad Sanusi Hilal Jr., 25 years old, holds a bachelor of law degree and is from the village of 'Arab al-Jahmah. He is considered by far the most dangerous. Police believe that he is probably responsible for the Dayr al-Muharraq incident. Mukhtar Husayn Kamil Farajallah is from al-Qusiyah. 'Adil Fawzi 'Abd-al-Sami' is from Bani Qurrah. Sa'd Muhammad 'Abd-al-Rahim is an expelled high school student from the village of Mir. Hasan Khalifah 'Uthman is from al-Qusiyah. These ten persons are now moving freely in al-Badari, Sidfa (where operations are being led by Najih 'Abd-al-Latif), and al-Qusiyah (where Ahmad Sanusi is active).

Apart from these three districts, we can say that the police are now in control of all areas. However, two new developments on the scene require a change in security plans.

First, the Islamic Group recently have begun to summon their members from nearby governorates—from Mallawi in al-Minya, the oases in the New Valley, and Tima in Sawhaj. In the recent train incident the police ascertained that one of the most important suspects was from the village of Salamun in Tima district of Sawhaj governorate. Also, the person who engaged the police on 2 January in the Ibrahim Mosque in the town of Sahil Salim was 'Abd-al-Hamid Muhammad Hasan 'Abd-al-Majid from Mallawi in al-Minya governorate. This somewhat complicates matters now for the police and requires that ambushes be set up on the borders of Asyut, with increased vigilance, especially at night, because the overland linkage of Middle Egypt's governorates makes things difficult. Samih al-Sa'id, the governor of Asyut, has therefore stressed that the governorates of Sawhaj, al-Minya, and Asyut should be proclaimed a single sector in which security plans are jointly implemented to prevent the Islamic Group from moving freely around Asyut.

Second, the Islamic Group have again tried to enter the university. Two students were involved in the attempt to bomb Bank Square in the heart of Asyut and in leaving

an explosive parcel in front of the Badr Tourist Hotel. Their arrest within 24 hours aborted the two operations, but it did not abort moves by student members of the Islamic Group in the university, who attempted to carry out a strike in support of the two students. The university president, Raja'i al-Tahlawi, responded by expelling four students for inciting the unsuccessful strike.

Finally, a number of facts remain to be mentioned:

First, all the differences between the governor and the NDP, which certain persons known by name in Asyut are feeding, will benefit only the extremists in the end. Therefore a degree of clarity and frankness is needed between the two sides. Polite visits to funerals and weddings will not be enough to bury the causes of the conflict soon; neither will attempts at denial by all sides.

Second, harassing certain families for reasons known to everyone and attempting to drag the police into the problem will completely alienate those families from the ranks confronting terrorism. If these families do not give their support, they will stand neutral; which is extremely dangerous, particularly since the decisions have not paid attention to the principle that equality in wrong is justice.

Third, terrorism is limited to the numerical level of the Islamic Group. However, those active on the scene not only have considerable fighting experience, but are good at moving. The entry of persons from al-Minya, Sawhaj, and the New Valley will prolong the battle. It will have to be decisively resolved by security integration at the level of all these governorates—the one-sector policy that the governor of Asyut stressed.

Fourth, Asyut University's current policy of forbidding those who are the source [of evil] must continue. The picture must be clarified as soon as any measures are taken, so as to contain any student sympathy with the extremists.

The final fact is that in Asyut there is no single reality on which people agree. This is what a thorough reading of this report confirms.

Minister on Treating Local Government Corruption

94LD0020A Cairo AL-AKHBAR in Arabic
16 Mar 94 p 3

[Interview with Dr. Mahmud Sharif, minister of local administration, by Majdi Abd-al-Ghani; place and date not given]

[Text] [Excerpt] [Passage omitted]

[Sharif] We should all believe that the defendant is innocent until he/she is condemned. The verdict is the right of the appropriate court only. Personally, I say that local leaders are honest and, on the whole, make those decisions that serve citizens' interests and solve their problems. I appeal to my colleagues in the press not to

rush in making accusations until all investigations are done and judges announce their verdict.

When dealing with building violations, we encounter numerous and lengthy obstacles. In the latest governors' council meeting, we decided to control these obstacles...and eliminate those negative trends that put limitations on fighting obstacles. These obstacles are:

First: As demolishing buildings is an administrative resolution, it could only be resolved in administrative courts. In the past, those committing building violations could file complaints in different kinds of courts in order to be acquitted. This process delayed the decision to execute demolition resolutions.

As the phrase "security does not permit" was an obstacle that governors and district heads faced and which stopped the demolition of buildings for years, I made an agreement with the minister of interior to the effect that this phrase no longer be used with regard to building violations that have to be reviewed by security personnel before they execute their demolition. Major General Hasan al-Alfi, minister of interior, promised that, starting at the present time, this phrase would no longer be used as an obstacle.

Moreover, building violations will be changed from violations to felonies that would be punishable by law. This means that culprits, besides paying fines, will receive prison sentences.

[Abd-al-Ghani] Where were the local councils during the past years when buildings were being erected? How is it that those councils have now reappeared demanding—with raised voices—quick trials for district heads and district engineers?

[Sharif] True, local councils are considered the primary instruments for the supervision of district heads' resolutions and any permits issued or actions executed by district offices which effect the people. Local councils should have spoken up, posed questions, and investigated building violations, because these councils hold monthly conferences with district heads and question them about every big issue as well as every detail related to all matters that concern the district. The councils should have completely performed their duty with regard to these issues.

[Abd-al-Ghani] Does this mean that the Local Councils Law will be changed?

[Sharif] Yes. We will consider seriously the idea that the members of local councils take part in both inspection patrols, together with district engineers, in order to detect building violations, and in reporting these violations. Therefore, local councils would be carrying full responsibility with regard to building violations, and subsequently, for the people's benefit, will play a role in fighting corruption and negligence.

[Abd-al-Ghani] What are the bases for nominating local leaders? How could this nomination be regularly supervised and monitored?

[Sharif] In order to nominate local leaders, we have started resorting to press ads, in which we allow all government officers who have reached either grade-level one, or the grade-level of general director, who wish to be promoted to the grade-level of under-secretary, to apply for posts of local leaders. I attend, in person, the interviews of applicants. Those who are selected are required to attend a course in local administration and then do some field research. The candidate is then given a trial period before he/she resumes the leadership post. Subsequently, all through the period when the candidate is in office, he/she is placed under our daily supervision and monitoring in order to assess his/her adaptability with regard to decisionmaking.

[Abd-al-Ghani] Why are local leaders left in their posts for long periods? Because of their many acquaintances across the years, when they have to find solutions for peoples' problems or attend to peoples' interests, are they not subjected to embarrassment?

[Sharif] A resolution has been issued that does not allow any local leaders, however successful they may have been and though they may have had many achievements, to remain in office more than five years. This is so that this local leadership would not feel embarrassed when dealing with problems and interests of those acquaintances whom it might have known for a long time. Another reason for this resolution is to renew the leadership, in action and in thought, at the local district level.

[Abd-al-Ghani] Some hypocrites address the governor as: "Mr. Minister Governor." Similarly, some media personnel in the governorate write big sign-posts that are placed on the Governor's desk having as a title: "The Minister Governor." Which of these is right and which is wrong?!

[Sharif] A governor should not be addressed as "Mr. Minister Governor." The financial status of a governor is the same as that of a minister. However, this fact does not mean that a governor should be addressed by the title "minister." Therefore, governors should not allow anyone to address them by this title, because this kind of address reflects flattery and hypocrisy. Personally, I do not allow that. All the ministry's correspondence with governors does not include this title. Governors should observe this regulation and put it into effect immediately.

[Abd-al-Ghani] How powerful is a governor's endorsement? I pose this question because citizens believe that this endorsement is the right path to heaven!

[Sharif] A governor's endorsement is one that gives the okay for execution; it is completely valid. However, a governor endorses only those documents that he is empowered to endorse. For example, according to local government regulations, a governor has the right to allot

a percentage of public housing at his discretion. However, a governor would first endorse the allotment of houses for the rest of the cases before he endorses allotments for any special cases.

No to the Oral!

[Abd-al-Ghani] What about an oral endorsement that a governor gives to his subordinates either over the telephone or by meeting with them?

[Sharif] On the one hand, an oral endorsement is sound and needs quick action if it is given for the general benefit, such as when the governor gives oral instructions or gives those instructions over the telephone in order to repair a damaged road or a burst water pipe. On the other hand, the endorsement is unsound if it is given by an employee, and the governor does not carry responsibility for it; this latter case would be unsound according to the work plan and its legal and sound venues. In addition, in case the endorsement carries any responsibility, the governor must endorse it instantly.

[Abd-al-Ghani] Because some previous district heads made some mistakes, a big number of current district heads have started to refer documents that need endorsement to the legal department for getting their view in fear of making the same mistakes made by their predecessors. What do you think is the solution?

[Sharif] I do not deny this truth. However, the local leadership should have confidence in its resolutions—and in its honesty. This state of affairs has delayed the issuing of building permits; currently, this delay has been overcome. Self-confidence and confidence in one's country provide district heads with complete validity to make the right decisions.

[Abd-al-Ghani] Has the cleaning organization for Cairo and al-Gizah achieved its goals?

[Sharif] Yes. Since the state provided equipment worth 3 billion pounds, the cleaning organization for Cairo and al-Gizah has achieved its goal. Private cleaning (the private sector) has a good future in this activity. Resolutions will be issued to encourage such companies. Shortly, the door will be opened for private sector companies to contribute to other aspects of public services such as garbage collection, its sorting, and classification.

[Abd-al-Ghani] In case a citizen fails to get what he/she is entitled to get from either the district head or the engineers, what does the citizen do and to whom does he/she have recourse?

[Sharif] Currently, I do not believe that this situation will occur because, the law is clear and provides every citizen with his/her entitlement. However, should this situation occur, the Governor's office is opened; governors hold weekly conferences with citizens. No citizen will find any difficulty in solving his/her problems.

IRAQ

Al-Chalabi Calls Iraqi Regime Threat to Regional Security

94LH0034A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic
11 Feb 94 p 9

[Article by Hasan al-Chalabi, professor of international law and chairman of the Constitution Committee in the Iraqi National Congress]

[Text] The aggression and invasions, as well as the abuse of security, human rights, and neighbors performed by Saddam Husayn's regime, have placed the Iraqi people and neighboring countries in the same ditch. Therefore, the continuing of this regime not only causes a threat to Iraq's future, but also to the security of the whole region. Also, therefore, ending this regime is of vital interest to Iraqis and to the region and its countries, as well as to world peace.

In spite of this state of affairs, since Saddam Husayn became responsible for Iraq and its destiny, the Iraqi people have received very little help and support from their neighbors throughout all the difficult times and calamities that they have faced. Had this treacherous and suppressive rule been related to the rule of the people only and thus considered as a case of Iraq's private affairs and its national autonomy, then there would have been a justification for the passiveness. But, there is no excuse for Iraq's neighbors; they can provide no justification for only being spectators regarding what is happening in Iraq—around them—at the time when the Iraqi regime has become a threat, not to Iraq alone, but, to all countries in the region.

The Iraqi regime has placed Iraqis under injustice and displacement and robbed them of their essential, as well as their most vital rights, such as the right to life, food, freedom, dignity, and security. Meanwhile, the neighbors around them are silent and see what is happening without offering the Iraqi people any help or coming to their rescue. The duty of these neighbors dictates that, in such circumstances, they should have interfered. However, people living in these neighboring countries are different from other neighbors. Though the Security Council's Resolution No. 688 verifies that the world became aware of Iraq's plight following Iraq's popular uprising, the surrounding neighbors remained silent viewers of what was befalling Iraq; the neighboring sister-country made no move to help or to come to the rescue of Iraq. Similarly, the Arab League showed no feeling for either the calamities or the disasters that were befalling Iraq. Besides, Iraq's neighbors reacted very strangely toward the Iraqi opposition when it started to show any practical action to rescue Iraq. Controversy arose among the neighbors regarding the Iraqi opposition's resolution, when, in the aftermath of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, it started to perform some coordinated work. It tried to control and reach its goals once under the guise of what was referred to as favoring

enrollment in those branches of the opposition that did not carry much weight inside Iraq in lieu of those branches that carried much weight, and another time by giving either the veto or the right of rejection, with regard to its resolutions, to some, not to all branches. This situation robbed it of its independence and rendered it unable to accomplish the simplest of its missions.

This state of affairs was very apparent during the opposition's conference that convened in Beirut in March 1991, coinciding with the popular uprising against Saddam's regime. Those attending the conference—instead of doing what their responsibility and duty indicated they should do, such as attempting to support the uprising inside Iraq—were busy passing around slogans, repeating statements, and racing to appear on TV shows and other performances. In another incident, when the Iraqi opposition tried to acquire what was needed with regard to the independence of its resolutions and plans at the Vienna conference, the neighbors marked it as being an American agent and as having fallen under the control of the United States. If fairness had prevailed, the question of dealing with the international factor should have been considered before marking the opposition with this accusation so that it would have been clear that the Iraqi opposition was doing nothing more than other Arab sides when they called on the United States to be a guardian and partner in resolving the Middle East dispute. Because the Iraqi opposition is in basic need of support coming from the United States and the other great international powers, it has accepted this aid in ways that do not negatively impact Iraq's national and autonomous rights and do not give up any of Iraq's national interests. Subsequently, the famous Security Council Resolution No. 688 was passed and later on—within the Iraqi National Congress—the Iraqi opposition obtained political and diplomatic endorsement from the highest levels in the United States, Britain, and France. This endorsement represents an admission that the opposition is a democratic and multi-lateral alternative to Saddam Husayn's regime. It is beyond comprehension to consider this admission as both an attack directed to the Congress's nationalism and as a belittling of its legitimacy.

The Western-style military protection that currently exists in northern Iraq from within which the Iraqi opposition is working to secure liberation—both in essence and in reality—is not different from any of the disengagement forces or international security forces deployed in more than one area in the Arab world. Why should there be two standards of judgment: wherein protecting Iraqi Kurdistan from Saddam's regime is considered sinful, military protection in other areas is not?

When the results of elections for the Congress's structure were announced, the neighboring countries stated that these structures were not democratic; they were ethnic and sectorial: as if this had been done within the framework of either a state or a stable government. What is the

stand of those who proclaim this state of affairs with regard to distinguishing between the status of a revolution and that of a state? What would be their stand on the preceding cases of constitutional and internationally known governments in contemporary Arab and non-Arab history which have been legitimized and, though not based on elections by the people, were allowed to practice their different functions? In order not to elaborate further on this topic, it could be said that the revolution jurisprudence is based on a coordinated democracy, while that of a state is based on a numerical one, where general elections are possible.

When it became clear that the Congress encompassed only the most prominent of most of the Iraqi opposition powers, it was declared in the neighboring countries that it was not representative of the opposition because it did not encompass all of its branches. This means that unanimity is both possible and necessary only for the Iraqi opposition. However, it is a known fact that unanimity is very difficult even when it is related to jurisprudence; it would be even more difficult to achieve, within the prevailing circumstances, when it relates to politics. So, in the case of the Iraqi opposition, it would have been crucial that the Congress include all of the Iraqi opposition parties, which number about 100. In other instances, however, it was considered enough to host a tea party in a London hotel, have 10 or 15 persons invited, and declare war?

Currently, however, the Iraqi National Congress has become a reality on Iraqi soil and has an effective presence inside Iraq; it has also gained international recognition as has been portrayed in the latest message of Mr. Clinton, the American President, to congressional leaders (AL-HAYAH, 2 February 1994). Ron Neumann, director of the Northern Gulf bureau at the American State Department, sent a report to the leaders of the Iraqi National Congress in Salah-al-Din, in which he stated: "The fact that the Congress is still functioning two years after its establishment makes us hope that there are Iraqi personalities from the opposition, who, though they have different tendencies, yet, after many years, can work together for the first time and continue to do so under difficult circumstances. We do not want to exaggerate their power; meanwhile, others should not exaggerate their weakness. We will continue the policy of giving strong support to the National Congress and will urge others to do the same." Mr. Neumann further clarified that President Bill Clinton's administration "approves of the establishment in Baghdad of a democratic government that represents all Iraqis and is capable of coexisting peacefully with the people and its neighbors." He further stated that "the United States is ready to cooperate with a replacement government as long as this new government abides by the United Nations resolutions." Neumann also asserted that the Western allied countries were very successful in protecting the Kurds. He added saying: "The United States played a leading role in this endeavor. Despite this success, this issue is not resolved,

and our efforts will continue." He further made a clarification by saying: "Washington does not have a separate policy for Kurdistan, but has an overall policy for Iraq."

In view of all these circumstances, it is probable that the neighbors will change their stand vis-a-vis the Congress. We therefore hope that the neighbors will end their boycott of the Congress and accept those necessary relations that will safeguard the interests of all concerned parties. Those opposition members who are residing inside a neighboring country could move to the homeland, where their efforts could become both useful and important. Currently, because this opposition has no homeland, it remains just a name and a slogan. The most important of the Congress's achievements is its success in moving the opposition to the Iraqi homeland and transforming the region that has been liberated from Saddam Husayn's rule into a base for it, thus becoming a reality as well as acquiring an identity.

When a dialogue is opened with the Congress, those parties that carry the Arabs' worries—inside and outside of the Arab world—will realize that the Congress is sharing—truthfully and deeply—these worries. These parties will also realize that the federation that the Congress advocates, which is proposed for Iraq, aims to neither separate nor divide, but to group and form a powerful and precious unity. They will further comprehend that the Congress does not aim to make one party dominate another, but that it advocates and works for the establishment of a state that will provide equality, justice, and liberty for all. The Congress's intentions, aims, goals, and wishes are to liberate Iraq from the regime of injustice and treachery and develop it on the bases of values, faith, and rationality. The recognition of the opposition therefore denotes the recognition of the new unity of Iraq—both as a nation and as a people. Therefore, when there is reference to communication between the Congress and the neighbors, the intention is to bring about the necessary coordination between existing conditions in northern Iraq and all the neighboring parties surrounding it. This coordination aims to alleviate any threat that these neighbors fear might arise from the circumstances in northern Iraq and might either harm them or harm their interests. All fears, doubts and reasons for strain could be alleviated if there is communication and consultation between the Congress and these parties.

It is most probable that had this kind of coordination taken place at the right time, the bloody encounters and shelling that caused a number of deaths and a lot of damage would not have taken place. Besides, had this coordination taken place, there would not have been an empty seat in the tripartite meetings that were held from time to time in a neighboring country and dealt with Iraqi affairs and worries. How could a country's affairs be discussed in the absence of its people? It is understandable that those who held such meetings did not invite members of the dominating regime to their meetings, yet, what reasons could hinder the invitation of the Iraqi people, represented by the liberation movement, to

these meetings? Is inviting the representatives of the people not a required legitimate action and one that serves the interests of both the Iraqi people and the neighbors?

ISRAEL

Analysis of 'Russian Return' to Middle East

94AA0056F Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew 22 Mar 94
p 3

[Article by Dr. Mordecai Wertheimer: "Russia Returns to the Middle East"]

[Text] Despite Yitzhaq Rabin's declaration in Washington that his "shopping basket" during his current visit contains only one item, "the pursuit of peace," it turns out that the issue of Russia's return to the Middle East political arena took up a considerable portion of the talks held by the prime minister with the U.S. President and with Secretary of State Warren Christopher. In a joint press conference held by Clinton and Rabin at the conclusion of their talks, the President referred to the issue of Russia's return to the Middle East and noted, "We will be able to evaluate her intentions in the coming days and weeks by her behavior." What that remark means is that the American Government as well as the Government of Israel is concerned by signs of active involvement on the part of Russia in the peace process, a factor that has thus far not been taken into consideration.

Last Friday the Security Council voted to pass a resolution condemning what happened in Hebron on 25 February. The draft resolution also contains a mention of Jerusalem as a part of "the occupied territories," as was forcefully demanded by the PLO. The United States conducted tireless negotiations over the last three weeks with Yasir 'Arafat aimed at linking the passage of this resolution with a PLO promise to resume negotiations with Israel. Despite Yasir 'Arafat's refusal to bow to American pleas on the issue of linkage between the UN resolution and the resumption of the talks—and his contemptuous behavior toward the American delegation headed by Dennis Ross, who came to Tunis—the Americans agreed to bring the resolution up for Security Council passage on Friday, in its original draft. It turns out that one of the main reasons for the American agreement stems from Russian pressure not to further delay the passage of the resolution. The Russians even threatened that they would act on the matter with or without U.S. agreement, and they would not care if the United States were to "veto" the resolution. From the Russian point of view, such a "veto" would be helpful in their attempts to persuade the Arabs, and especially the PLO, that they are returning to the Middle East arena with the same mission that they performed in the past as the principal supporter of the Arabs in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

U.S. Persuasion

At the end of the week, senior U.S. sources confirmed that they had made a supreme effort to prevent Yasir 'Arafat from contacts and negotiations with the Russians on the issue of the "peace process" without prior coordination with the United States. This was after it was made clear to the Americans that the surprise visit of the Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev to Jerusalem and Tunis and the invitation of Rabin and Yasir 'Arafat to visit Moscow in the month of April were not simply a "diplomatic gesture," but augured a Russian political turnaround from her position over the last five years during which she dealt mainly with her own internal affairs and was only a figurehead on the issue of the peace process.

As usual, Yasir 'Arafat felt that this was another golden opportunity for him to demand a "price" from the Americans for his agreement to delay his cementing of closer ties with the Russians. He accomplished that first and foremost with his demand that the Security Council pass its resolution of condemnation without obliging him to simultaneously announce the resumption of talks with Israel. The fact that the United States was forced to agree to this demand by 'Arafat clearly reflects the renewal of the Russian presence in the Middle East—a presence that, from here on out, will demand different table rules from those that have prevailed thus far, while the United States has been the dominant factor in the Middle East since the convening of the Madrid conference at the end of 1991.

This Sunday Russia gave another sign of her new policy. When delegations from Israel and the United States rushed to Tunis to try to persuade Yasir 'Arafat to return to the negotiating table, Russia announced that she was sending her representative Victor Pozobulkov, the director of the Middle East department in the Russian Foreign Ministry, to act as a counterbalance to Dennis Ross, the senior American emissary.

From the American and Israeli reactions, it seems that this change in Russian policy has caught both the United States and Israel off guard. In some sense it might be said that their reactions to the change proved that they were not only caught off guard but that they have been left in a real funk. The fact is that 80 members of the U.S. Senate appealed late last week to President Clinton to "veto" the Security Council resolution should it contain the paragraph calling Jerusalem a part of the occupied territories. All of the Jewish organizations in the United States, led by AIPAC [American Israel Public Affairs Committee], the Israeli lobby organization in Washington, were also urgently called to Washington to clearly and firmly express their demand that the United States "veto" the Security Council resolution.

Steve Grossman, the president of AIPAC, met last week for this purpose with President Clinton and let him know that U.S. Jewry would consider passage of a resolution mentioning Jerusalem as "occupied territory" to be a

very serious matter. Despite the appeals of Senate and House members and the Jewish organizations, the U.S. representative at the Security Council voted for the resolution while abstaining from two of its paragraphs, the paragraph mentioning Jerusalem as occupied territory and the paragraph implying that the Security Council recognizes Palestinian sovereignty over Judea, Samaria, and Gaza. The instruction by the White House to its representative on the Security Council to vote as she did is more indicative of confusion in this case than careful forethought.

The Invitation to Moscow

When Yitzhaq Rabin, during his visit last week to Washington, was asked about his reaction to his invitation and 'Arafat's to visit Moscow in the month of April, he answered that he really did not expect it from the Russians, but he accepted the invitation. On the matter of the U.N. Security Council resolution, the prime minister stated that the inclusion of Jerusalem as occupied territory is something Israel rejects, "but if it is a matter of one item in the entire process, then it is not so bad." Rabin thought that the Americans would insist that their vote for the resolution would be conditioned on PLO agreement to renew the talks and on implementation of the "Gaza and Jericho First" plan. In fact it turned out that the Russian pressure caused the U.S. President to change the stand he had announced to the Israeli prime minister 48 hours earlier. And the United States allowed the resolution to pass without "vetoing" it, as she had threatened to do for three weeks.

When Shim'on Peres initiated his secret talks in Oslo a year ago, containing his "big plan of deception" centered on an agreement to "the declaration of principles" with the PLO, he based it on the global state of affairs. In that view of things, the world had undergone far-reaching changes over the last few years. The Soviet Union had disappeared and the Russia that had taken her place was not and would not be a superpower. He also pointed out that the Berlin Wall had fallen, that the people of Eastern Europe had been liberated from the Communist yoke, and that from now on hegemony in the world would be exclusively American. Since—according to this view of things on the part of the Israeli prime minister—the period of conflicts in the world was over and peace would soon prevail, Israel had to hurry to join in the "new world order" by signing peace treaties with the PLO and with Syria, Jordan, and Lebanon at any price. Shim'on Peres even loudly and publicly mocked the positions of the Likud and his partner in the national unity government, Yitzhaq Shamir, who he felt had closed their eyes to the changes that had occurred in the global political order and were stubbornly clinging to their position that Israel must not agree to any accommodation that would deviate from the Camp David accords, and certainly not conduct negotiations with the PLO terrorist organization. Now the turnaround in the Russian position comes as a slap in the face to the Israeli

prime minister, proving his "vision" faulty and demonstrating the entire structure he built to be a house of cards about to collapse.

The Changes in Russian Policy

The Russians did not announce the change in their foreign policy indirectly or in a roundabout way. They did it in the most direct and public fashion. Over the last two weeks the Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev has distributed to the world's newspapers lots of articles, in which he outlines the new Russian foreign policy. There is no doubt that Kozyrev is not doing this on his own initiative, but with the authorization and encouragement of the Russian president, Boris Yeltsin. In articles published in THE NEW YORK TIMES and THE WASHINGTON TIMES last week, he sets down Russia's new foreign policy principles. At the center of the Russian Government's plan is the principle that Russia will no longer concede exclusive American hegemony in the world. The Russians say that they were and remain a "superpower" just as they were before the collapse of the Soviet Union, and accordingly the Americans and the rest of the world have to deal with Russia. Still, there is a substantive change in the new Russian policy as opposed to that of the "Cold War" period, and it is the Russian willingness to establish "cooperation" between the two superpowers, the United States and Russia. Such cooperation requires the Americans not to make unilateral decisions on issues and in areas in which the Russians have their own interests.

Andrey Kozyrev even lays out the strategic goals of the new Russian policy and refers specifically to the present peace process when he says, "In the Middle East, our efforts will be focused on our continuing role as partners with the United States in the peace process and in realizing the aspirations of the Palestinian people. We will strive for extensive economic cooperation with the Arab states with the aim of attracting their financial resources for Russian economic development in its modern era and for strengthening the Russian position in world trade, including weapons trade." The wording of this paragraph of the Russian plan shows that their strategic decision is to return full force to the Middle East. Furthermore, they stress their desire to return to active involvement in the Middle East in all areas, so that the possibility of the Russians returning to their function as Arab "patron" is very real. If this Russian plan is, in fact, implemented, there is no doubt that it will have many implications for what is termed the "peace process."

If the Israeli Government indeed sees itself responsible for the future and security of the State of Israel, it must quickly come to grips with this turnaround in Russian policy in the Middle East and change its strategy and tactics to meet the new challenges that she is thereby faced with. The government's running amok after the PLO and its desire to hand over control of Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip as fast as possible to the terrorist organization only shows that the government of

the left still has not come to understand the change that is taking place in the international order in the Middle East as a result of Russia's return to the region.

Hebron Seen as Foreshadowing Jerusalem Talks

94AA0056A Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 21 Mar 94 p 9

[Text] The annexation of East Jerusalem to Israel a few weeks after the Six-Day War was accomplished unilaterally. No country recognized this annexation—just as no country recognized the annexation of the Golan 14 years ago—and no UN framework gave it its blessing. Legally, these annexations are no more valid than the annexation of the West Bank to Transjordan in 1950, given the reservations of the entire world (except for Britain and Pakistan). Politically, the powers recognized over the years that there was no point in an immediate clash over Jerusalem, lest it frustrate at the outset any Israeli-Arab negotiation. This problem was therefore left for the end of the bargaining, but we should not make the mistake of confusing this with acceptance of the Israeli course of action.

In one sense, there has even been something of a retreat in Israel's bargaining power with the recognition of the PLO and the separation of the discussion over the future of the territories from the discussions with Jordan—since the previous argument that Jordan, as annexer of the West Bank, had no advantage over Israel with regard to the partition resolution of 1947 is no longer valid when it comes to a permanent agreement with the Palestinian entity.

The preinterim agreement known as "Gaza and Jericho First" is again supposed to postpone discussion of Jerusalem to the time of the final agreement. The UN condemnation in the wake of the Hebron slaughter does not change the timetable, but only serves to remind us of Jerusalem's controversial status in international eyes. There is no substantive change in the situation: The annexation goes unrecognized but also does not constitute a basis for a claim of compensation against Israel. This is not a pleasant situation for Israel, knowing that the day of reckoning is yet to come, but it is also no pretext for ridiculous shouts of crisis by the opponents of the Rabin government. In the period of the Begin and Shamir governments, the political situation of Jerusalem was no better, just the contrary—their stubborn policy threatened to bring Israel into conflict with her worldwide supporters to such an extent that control of Jerusalem itself would emerge from that confrontation injured and bruised.

No one should delude himself with the idea that the status of Jerusalem in the final agreement will be identical to the present situation. Certainly there will be various changes, both in terms of the connection of the eastern part of the city with the Palestinian entity (Israel, after all, is not interested in the citizenship of hundreds of thousands of Jerusalem Arabs) and in terms of supervision over the Christian and Muslim holy places. An

enlightened policy would be working even now to consolidate a complex balance of appropriate authorities for the non-Jewish quarters of the city, in cooperation with Muslim bodies (Saudi Arabia, Jordan, Egypt and, perhaps, even a non-Arab state like Turkey) and others (the Vatican).

A pilot test of this balance could be conducted in miniature at other sites of religious significance in the territories—in Nablus, in Bethlehem and, above all, in Hebron. The idea of the Palestinian police force in Hebron is not harmful, even if it is not particularly helpful, as long as the Jewish settlers in Hebron (and those on their way from Qiryat Arba' to the Cave of the Patriarchs) constitute the "time bomb" that Yitzhaq Rabin warned about, since the first clash between those settlers and the Palestinian policemen is likely to end in human and political disaster. The principal significance of this suggested police force and of the condemnation in the United Nations is to supply a pretext to the Palestinians to do what it is worthwhile for them to do in any case—come back to substantive talks with Israel in order to win in good time the first slice of the autonomy administration in the territories. Following this slice there will be others, along with Israeli accords with Syria, Lebanon, and Jordan. Jerusalem's turn will be late, but will also come to pass—and as Baruch Goldstein certainly also understood, what happens in Hebron at the beginning will happen in Jerusalem at the end.

Evacuation of Jews or Arabs From Hebron Urged
94AA0056D Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 21 Mar 94
p B1

[Article by Dani Rubinshteyn: "Either the Settlers or the Palestinians"]

[Text] Prime Minister Yitzhaq Rabin's decision not to evacuate the settlers (for the moment?) from the center of Hebron forces the government to maneuver between other proposals: to agree to an international presence in the city, the nature of which would be a topic for prolonged negotiation; or to muster Palestinian policemen to be placed in the city, when it is not yet clear whether they will be fully subordinate to the IDF [Israel Defense Forces].

In the talks now under way in Tunis, General Amnon Shahaq and Director-General Uri Savir will probably raise other suggestions, the common denominator of which would be insistence on what has become hallowed principle in Israeli policy—not one settler will be evacuated from his home, even if that home is sheer stupidity (in Rabin's words), no matter what the price.

This principle has important implications even now in Hebron. "The end of the week will mark one month since the slaughter and the victims continue to pay the price," according to Palestinian publications referring to the curfew, that, at the time of this writing, has still not been lifted from the city's inhabitants.

In fact, the IDF is not strict about the curfew in neighborhoods removed from the center of Hebron, but even in them there are no classes, most of the services are stopped, and few residents go to work. Occasionally the IDF removed the curfew for a couple of hours to allow for food shopping, but even then the center of the old city remained shut down. Last week the military governor of Hebron told the heads of the Arab community that the main highway serving the center of town, which passes by Bet Hadassah, was closed to Arab traffic.

Hashim al-Natshe, the head of the Hebron Chamber of Commerce, tried to appeal that decision to the governor, and, according to him, the governor told him: "this is a final decision and there will be no debate about it." The decision will be very hard on the lives of the city's Arabs since this street connects Hebron's western and northern neighborhoods with the southern neighborhoods, and thus now, in their view, makes it a divided city.

One of the street's residents, Maher Shahada, said (in the paper AL-QUDS) that homes in the area have become intolerable and that the Arabs will be forced to leave. Other residents also believe that the curfew on the old part of the city, adjacent to the Jewish homes, will continue for a long time. Businesses there have long been dying because of continuous friction with the settlers, and those who can will do everything possible to move to more distant neighborhoods.

The measures taken by the IDF commanders in Hebron are understandable. They, like everyone else, fear Arab reprisals, and they must provide the settlers a minimum of security and the ability to travel. The only way to do this is to impose limits on the Arabs and try to create a breach between the Arabs and the Jews in the center of town.

In other words, because it is clear to everyone that there is no going back to the uncertain coexistence that previously existed in the center of Hebron between settlers and Arabs, the decision not to evacuate the Jews means that the Arabs have to be evacuated. While the East Jerusalem newspapers describe the increasing pressure on thousands of their Arab neighbors by the Hebron settlers to leave the area, they also stressed at the end of the week reports of two new Jewish families that just arrived to settle in the heart of the Arab city.

Palestinian spokesmen like Faisal al-Husayni and Hanan Ashrawi said after the Security Council resolution that now the international resolutions, declarations, and various agreements do not much matter to them; what matters is what happens in the field. At the offices of the Palestinian delegation in East Jerusalem they pointed to the fact that despite the announcements of despair among the settlers, some of whom want to leave, just the opposite kind of work is going on in the territories, which testifies to a strengthening of the settlements.

In Ma'ale Adumim, in Ari'el, and in other places, accelerated construction continues. In the most ultra-Orthodox settlement, west of Bethlehem, they are

starting to build (according to an announcement by the Housing Ministry) 470 new housing units. In al-Jib (ancient Giv'on), which is north of Jerusalem, the Duqa family complained that tractors ran over 12 dunams of their olive plantings in order to expand the settlement of Giv'at Ze'ev. In areas east of the Jerusalem-Ramallah highway, construction of a new Jewish neighborhood is now being completed.

A member of the delegation, Rasan al-Hatib, noted a while back that the concession made by the Palestinians for the Gush Qatif security arrangement actually triples the area of the Israeli settlements in the center of the Strip. Hebron is the most trenchant example, but from the point of view of most of the Palestinian community, it signals that the settlements remaining in the territories will prevent any hope of reaching an agreement.

Backgrounder on Tel Rumayda Settlement in Hebron

94AA0056C Tel Aviv HA'ARETZ in Hebrew 21 Mar 94
p 4

[Article by Nadav Shragai: "Tel Rumayda—a Caravan Site Whose Inhabitants Have Often Challenged the Army"]

[Text] The clarifications made last week by IDF [Israel Defense Forces] commanders on the West Bank with regard to "sizes, weights, and capacities of each of the caravans in Tel Rumayda" increased the fears of the settlers in Hebron of evacuation, on instructions from the political echelon.

Tel Rumayda is the only settlement site in Hebron where the inhabitants live in temporary structures. In the rest of the enclaves the settlers live in new or rehabilitated permanent homes, in the synagogue of Abraham our father, in Bet Hadassah, or in Bet Romano.

At the beginning of the eighties, the settlers in Hebron waged a stubborn struggle aimed at settling on the grounds of Tel Rumayda, south of the Arab heart of Hebron. This struggle has seen endless confrontations with the residents of Hebron as well as with the military administration. Once Arab fruit trees were uprooted. Other times the settlers tried to fence in territory, of which the legal ownership was unclear. Thus it happened that on several occasions the IDF soldiers removed the fences, and the settlers came back and refenced them.

Most of the land on the Tel was purchased by the Jewish community in Hebron 150 years ago. Today only a few plots remain under Jewish ownership. In 1984 the government authorized several families to settle in temporary structures on one of the plots. Today seven settler families live on that very spot. Settlement on the rest of the plots was held up by the national unity government in the mid-eighties.

On the western part of the Tel is the ancient Jewish cemetery in which many generations of Jews were

buried, among them rabbis and cabalists. The Israeli Government prohibited burials there in the first years after the Six-Day War. But in 1975, when the boy Avraham Yedidia Nahshon died in Qiryat Arba', his mother buried him in the ancient cemetery.

The victims of the 1929 riots are buried in another section. The cemetery was destroyed by the Arabs after the Jordanian conquest and was rebuilt by the Jews of Qiryat Arba'. In 1976, remnants of Torah scrolls were laid to rest there that had been torn up and desecrated by Arabs in the Cave of the Patriarchs. Their location is marked today by a monument in the form of a Torah scroll.

In a pamphlet put out by No'am Arnon on behalf of the Hebron academy, he describes "the large and impressive ancient walls from the period of the patriarchs," located on the southeastern part of the Tel. "These walls were excavated in archaeological digs in the sixties. Further digs conducted on the Tel in recent years exposed various finds from the Canaanite period and parts of the city from the time of the First and Second Commonwealth. On the eastern slopes of the Tel is Ayn Jidira ('the fountain of Abraham'), that constituted a water supply source for the ancient city. On the top of the Tel is Dir al Arba'in, an ancient Crusader fortress, with a beautiful view of the 'Hebron Valley' and the entire city. On this spot there are Jewish traditions noting the graves of Jesse, the father of King David and Ruth, the mother of the Davidian dynasty."

Columnist Argues for Jewish Evacuation of Hebron

94AA0056E Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 22 Mar 94 p 9

[Article by David Shaham: "For Our Future, Not Under Pressure"]

[Text] Begin knew how to say it in Latin: Agreements must be honored. When this maxim is rephrased in a different form by the present prime minister it makes one nervous. And not only because, as a learned colleague noted here last week, he has already stated that: "no date (in the agreement) is holy," and whoever starts out on that tack would be forced to agree that no paragraph in the agreement is holy, but because of something much more important—something connected with a basic understanding of what an agreement is.

First of all, a basic principle in any agreement is that the parties to an agreement can agree to nullify all its obligations or add to them. There is no restriction in any agreement on coming to an additional agreement. Beyond that, what must be honored in an agreement is the obligation that you take upon yourself. You can cancel your obligation only if the other side agrees. But you can always add an obligation that you did not take upon yourself in the agreement or nullify a right that you have. It is only necessary that the other side not see injury to itself in the additional obligation that you take upon yourself.

Instead of talking theory, let us take a simple example: You agreed to sell an apartment. The agreement says you will hand it over empty. For some reason you decide to leave the air conditioner and the gas range. Have you broken the agreement? No. You are not required to leave the air conditioner and the gas range, you simply may do so. On condition that the purchaser does not object.

Let us consider some examples. Let us talk about Hebron and the settlements, and about Rabin. The agreement says that the settlements will remain in place until the end of the transition period. The Palestinians are obligated not to demand their removal before the end of this period. But is it an obligation on the part of Rabin not to remove any settlements? Of course not. Rabin can dismantle any settlement he wants. True, the Palestinians, perhaps, cannot demand it (i.e., they can always make demands but are not entitled to have them fulfilled), but the prime minister can decide to move them for his own reasons. And if Rabin wants to move them and thinks it important to do so—he should not say there is an agreement and he cannot move them.

One more bit of advice for Rabin: Do not say you have to move the Jews from Hebron because it is impossible to protect them. That is not true. It is possible to surround them with a tank battalion 24 hours a day and send select vehicle patrols between the tanks. It is possible, but is it worthwhile? Does this presence justify the price? Is it justified?

After all, Rabin himself called the settlement in the heart of Hebron "stupid" and said it is a "time bomb." Even before the elections he dared to say that many other settlements were "political." So, stupid things should be abolished. The time bomb must be dismantled on time. The settlement that was set up for political reasons can be moved for political reasons. There is no need to be confused by the crocodile tears of those who cry "transfer" and their demagoguery. Transfer is when you take a people and send them out of their land to a foreign country. A political decision about Jews who were settled in the heart of Hebron for political reasons (the chief reason among them—to prevent any possibility of peace based on territorial compromise) being moved to another place, a place within their own homeland, is not transfer. It is simply the correction of a political mistake, the correction of a stupid act, the dismantling of the time bomb.

Returning the Jews from the center of Hebron to somewhere else in Israel is not a violation of the agreement with the Palestinians. Do the Palestinians object to such a measure? If not, it is consonant with the agreement. True, Rabin is not obligated to the Palestinians to do it, but he is obligated to us; to use an expression with a little more pathos—to the future of our children and grandchildren.

So enough talk about the moving of Jews from the center of Hebron being contrary to the agreement. Gad Ya'aqobi also should not say it abroad where they simply

laugh at him. Rabin has to do it now, not within the framework of negotiations with the Palestinians, as a concession under pressure (by doing so we can teach them that what is not accomplished by force is stronger), but by an independent sovereign decision of an independent sovereign state. Not because the Palestinians demand it, but because it is good for the Jews.

Course of Religious Zionism, NRP Examined

94AA0056B Tel Aviv HATZOFE in Hebrew 11 Mar 94
p 3

[Article by Dr. Ya'aqov Katz: "Whither Religious Zionism"]

[Text] Since the beginning of modern Zionism and, more particularly, since the rise of the State of Israel, religious Zionism has worked closely with secular Zionism. Mizrahi, Hapo'el Hamizrahi, and the National Religious Party [NRP] viewed the close ties to the secular Zionist parties as a vital commandment to advance the central needs of the state and the nation. Despite the differences of opinion on certain matters, especially in the religious realm, the NRP was willing to compromise with the secular Zionist parties in order to establish a constructive national partnership. Even when the NRP did not get satisfaction in religious legislation, it continued to cooperate with secular Zionism, fully aware that this partnership was vital and necessary for the construction of government institutions and an exclusively Jewish way of life in the State of Israel.

The NRP, therefore, cooperated with governments headed by Mapai [forerunner of Labor], headed by the Labor Party, headed by Likud, and headed by the National Unity government, as well. The NRP representatives believed that active partnership with the governments of Israel would increase understanding among the Zionist camps and strengthen national life in the State of Israel. The NRP was able to exert influence in fateful courses of events such as on embarking on the various wars, on decisions having to do with settlement in all parts of the Land of Israel, on central educational, ethical, and social issues, and on the Jewish flavor of the State of Israel. Certainly not all Israeli governments were happy with the policy lines adopted by the NRP in various areas, and occasionally real or imagined crises arose between the ruling secular parties and the NRP, but most of the time the NRP was a full and wanted partner in all Israeli governments and was able to express the desires of the national-religious community with pride and resolve from its seat in the various Israeli governments.

Since the 1992 elections, it turns out that the NRP is no longer a desired partner. The secular parties that make up the present coalition—Labor, RATZ [Citizens Rights Movement], Shinui, and MAPAM [United Workers Party]—have adopted an ideological line that collides head on with that of the NRP, representing the national-religious community. The parties in the government

coalition espouse the rights of the individual—as opposed to the approach of the NRP, which espouses an approach calling for realization of the obligations of the individual to people and country. The rights of the individual, according to the coalition parties, are divorced entirely from his obligations to community and country, while the NRP avers that the individual's rights flow directly from the fulfillment of his obligations to state and community. The contempt that the coalition parties display toward traditional religious and social-ethical values stirs up the national-religious community and its representatives. A significant abyss has opened between the values that serve the coalition parties and those that characterize the NRP as a party representing the national-religious community. It is now clear that anyone who is concerned about all that is dear to the national-religious community cannot work together politically with the secular parties that make up the present government coalition.

It may be that the time has come for the national-religious community and its political representatives in the NRP to do some soul searching to find out whether it is preferable in the present situation to exchange the historic partnership with the secular Zionist parties for a partnership with the ultra-Orthodox parties that are considered non-Zionist and even anti-Zionist. It turns out that on purely religious issues there is almost full agreement between the NRP and SHAS [Torah Observing Sephardim] and Agudat Israel. On educational, socioeconomic, and ethical issues there is close proximity between the national-religious community and the ultra-Orthodox community.

The sharp disagreement that exists between the national-religious community and the ultra-Orthodox community centers on the governmental character of the State of Israel. There is also disagreement on central government prerogatives such as military service and the drafting of seminary students into the IDF [Israel Defense Forces]. These are substantive, ethical disagreements, but the sharp disagreements existing between the national-religious community and the secular community are no less sharp or relevant to the Jewish nature of the country. It may be that in serious, rational, principled negotiations between the NRP and the ultra-Orthodox parties it will be possible to bridge the gap on various governmental issues, which would facilitate close cooperation between the religious parties to the point of establishing a broad religious front.

The present emergency requires new thinking and new creative measures to produce a unified ethical, social-religious front that can stand up to the erosion in education, in values, and in the Jewish nature of the country. It is worthwhile to examine the possibility of cooperation with the ultra-Orthodox, who show greater understanding of the needs of the national religious community in terms of settler image and the settlements in all parts of the Land of Israel. Recently it turns out that a not insignificant number of ultra Orthodox have

participated actively in the demonstrations against submission to the Arab demands and in support for settlement on the Golan and in Judea, Samaria, and the Gaza Strip. It is incumbent upon the NRP leaders to open regular channels for negotiation with the ultra-Orthodox parties in order to achieve a unified front that will stand tall against the secular coalition parties that are endangering the ethical, national, and Jewish fortitude of the people of Israel in the State of Israel.

SUDAN

'Extermination' of Nubians Detailed

94LD0038A London AL-MAJALLAH in Arabic
13 Mar 94 p 40

[Interview with First Lieutenant Khalid 'Abd-al-Karim Salih, brother of Kordofan Province Governor, by Muhammad Ahmad al-Hasan; date and place not given]

[Text] First Lieutenant Khalid 'Abd-al-Karim Salih, according to his words, worked "until his conscience awakened" as chief of the security and followup branch of the government of Kordofan Province, Sudan. He was also the personal guard of Kordofan's governor, his younger brother. But he left Sudan recently and declared at a press conference in Switzerland, where he has applied for political asylum, that he does not wish to return to Sudan under the current government. He talked about the tragedies he saw in Kordofan and offered a comprehensive and detailed personal report on the massacres that have taken away the lives of thousands of Nubians.

AL-MAJALLAH has contacted 1st Lt. Khalid 'Abd-al-Karim Salih and conducted the following interview with him:

[Al-Hasan] How did you get out of Sudan?

[Salih] I left in the company of my sick mother who went for treatment in Jordan. When she recovered, thank God, I arranged for her to return to Sudan and I headed for Switzerland in search of political asylum. At a press conference there, I said everything to satisfy my conscience, exposing the ethnic extermination and purge campaign launched by the Sudanese regime against Nubia's citizens.

[Al-Hasan] Your talk about the regime's actions against Nubians was based on reports with which you familiarized yourself by virtue of your position as security branch chief. Did you personally see mass extermination or villages burned in the Nuba Mountains?

[Salih] We made visits to the field with the governor after the operations, and we saw the villages that were burned to the ground and the corpses.

[Al-Hasan] How many burned villages and how many corpses did you see?

[Salih] Nearly 200 villages in the Tolshi Mountains and the number of corpses ranged from 20 to 150 [per village].

[Al-Hasan] Considering that you are familiar with the reports on the extermination operations, what is your estimate of the number of people claimed as victims of the campaign during your presence in the service?

[Salih] The reports aren't interested in those annihilated but in losses suffered by the army and civil defense. Most of the reports call for more military reinforcements to carry out these brutal acts.

[Al-Hasan] So, how were you able to estimate the number of Nubians killed at 60-70,000 people when you were in charge of the province security, as you have said in your report to the Sudanese Human Rights Organization?

[Salih] We received reports at the rate of two reports a month. Each report indicated that the number of victims ranged from 3-4,000. The reports mentioned no [exact] numbers. So, I estimated that the lives annihilated during the seven months of my control of the security branch amounted to these numbers.

[Al-Hasan] Why hasn't the army objected to these operations, keeping in mind that a large number of NCO's are from Nubia?

[Salih] As of the first moments of the coup, the Front [National Islamic Front (NIF)] cadres began to liquidate the armed forces officers and to plant their own men in the military intelligence. These cadres started dismissing members of the regular forces on mere suspicion. Thus, trust among officers has, to a large degree, been lost. Most of these operations are carried out by officers chosen from the NIF and from its Popular Defense Forces.

[Al-Hasan] Were you a member of al-Turabi's front and were you chosen for the mission on this basis?

[Salih] No, I haven't been a member of the NIF organizations.

[Al-Hasan] Were you chosen for this task because you are the governor's brother? Is the governor himself from the NIF?

[Salih] I don't believe that I was chosen just because I am the governor's brother but because of the security capability I displayed. I was moved from the position of security official in Khartoum North to Port Sudan because the regime feared that forces loyal to Lieutenant General Fathi in Port Sudan would stage a military coup or that a military landing would be staged in that province. I believe that my security activity was excellent, thus qualifying me to be transferred to Kordofan Province.

[Al-Hasan] From your security experience, do you believe that your brother, the governor, was one of the

Front's military cadres prior to the coup and that he has a role in the schemes that are implemented by the Front in the Nuba Mountains?

[Salih] This is an extremely embarrassing question. People can judge my brother by his actions. All I know about my brother prior to the coup is that he was extremely religious.

[Al-Hasan] Didn't it occur to you to broach this human tragedy with him?

[Salih] I did. He said to me that the orders came down from the top and that he was powerless to confront them. Lieutenant General al-Bashir had visited Kurdufan and proclaimed its governor the province prince of jihad [holy war] and himself, i.e., al-Bashir, the imam of jihad. Al-Bashir also declared 1992-93 the year of jihad in Kordofan.

[Al-Hasan] How could jihad be declared against the Nubian tribes when statistics show that 40 percent of them are Muslim and 40 percent animist, and that Christians among them don't exceed 20 percent?

[Salih] This is something that perplexes me too. I was surprised when I saw that their harsh treatment made no distinction between Muslim and Christian. I felt tortured when I saw children separated from their families and turned over to the Islamic Call authorities, even though the children were Muslim in the first place. I was pained to see the children's families sent to government production [crop?] collection sites under those oppressive conditions and in that disgraceful manner.

TUNISIA

Al-Nahdah Leadership Denies Arms Smuggling Accusations

94P50127A London AL-HAYAH in Arabic 15 Apr 94
p 4

[Article by Jamal Khashuqi in London: "Accusations Against Al-Nahdah of Buying Arms and Smuggling Them Into Algeria"]

[Text] Is the Tunisian al-Nahdah movement buying arms? This controversial question is currently being asked in Western intelligence and political circles. Defacto inquiries are being made of al-Nahdah's exiled leadership in Paris and London concerning this subject.

Informed Tunisian sources confirm that Tunisian parties purchased arms from merchants in several European capitals, particularly in Brussels and Paris, and that these parties presented themselves as or intimated their affiliation with the outlawed "al-Nahdah Islamic movement" in Tunisia. The arms were bought in small quantities and were directed to a third party.

However, al-Nahdah's leadership firmly denies that they purchased arms for the purpose of smuggling them

into Tunisia and asserted that their movement is political and would never resort to violence under any circumstances.

One al-Nahdah member who asked that his name be withheld said that the Sudan expelled a group of Tunisians who adopted the policy of "al-jihad," and said that the expulsion took place at the request of al-Nahdah, which does not want to bear the responsibility for such a trend.

The same source indicates that the operation to smuggle arms from Tunisia to the Kabylie region of Algeria is for the purpose of arming the groups supporting the extremist Berber leader Said Saadi, leader of the Rally for Culture and Democracy. Two weeks ago in the French newspaper *LE FIGARO*, Saadi called for arming the opposition to the Islamists and forming militias to confront the supporters of the FIS [Islamic Salvation Front].

These statements caused an uproar in Algeria; commenting from abroad, Rabih Kebir, president of the FIS executive council, characterized Saadi's remarks as "an open invitation to civil war."

The al-Nahdah leadership confirmed that the source of these weapons was not the Tunisian army's arsenal, rather that they were purchased abroad with the knowledge of the security agencies in Tunisia in order to achieve two goals: "Firstly, to preoccupy Algeria with a civil war when the FIS takes power and [secondly,] to implicate al-Nahdah with the charge of purchasing the arms." However, Tunisian official sources are insisting that al-Nahdah is purchasing arms to use them in terrorist operations inside Tunisia.

REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

Salih Accused of Instigating Unrest

94AE0094A *Paris AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI in Arabic*
4 Mar 94 pp 28-29

[Text] Barely a few hours had passed following the "compulsory embrace" between 'Ali 'Abdallah Salih and 'Ali Salim al-Bid in Amman on 20 February 1994 when battles erupted between the North Yemen Army and South Yemen Army, thus giving rise to questions on how serious the two sides are about implementing the "covenant and accord document," which had been signed by Yemeni figures under the sponsorship of King Husayn, and on whether there really is a reasonable mechanism for implementation.

A very resentful Jordanian official has said to *AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI*, "Why, then, did they come to us? Why all those arrangements, debates, and mutual visits? Moreover, why did that throng of 300 Yemenis representing all of Yemen's tribes, parties, institutions, and intellectuals come to us? Why did the security and military situation erupt even before the ink used by 37 officials to sign the covenant and accord document could

dry up?" Another official was more realistic and less emotional. He said, "It isn't like this. The document isn't a cease-fire declaration. It isn't even a declaration of unity. The document is a timetable to disengage in the political and economic clash. Don't forget that this is the first time in Yemen's modern history in which all Yemenis with all their factions have agreed to such a broad dialogue. An opportunity must be given to people to overcome the obstacles and implement the accord."

Struggle Is Dominant

Regardless of what the two officials have said in their contradictory assessments, struggle for power and for the distribution of positions and wealth continues to dominate Yemen's map. Those who scrutinized the face of President 'Ali Salih and of Vice President 'Ali Salih al-Bid when they were sitting to the right and left of King Husayn during the accord-signing ceremony at Raghadan Palace, Amman, were able to pick up signs of tension and of dissatisfaction. Even though the spontaneous address which 'Ali Salih delivered, (and in which he thanked Yasir 'Arafat and the United States!), did not betray his fear that the document would face difficulty in implementation, 'Ali Salim al-Bid was so frank and so reserved that spectators expected him to upturn the table and end the party suddenly! Al-Bid declared that he had reservations because accords had been previously signed but not implemented. He then proceeded to talk about the YSP [Yemeni Socialist Party] martyrs who have fallen in the mutual assassinations between North and South. Al-Bid went on to list the names of those assassinated, and the audience imagined he was about to abandon the microphone and depart from the hall. But Al-Bid found the right way out when he went on to add, "But Yemen is dearer than all of these people."

From that moment, there has been strengthened belief that it will be extremely difficult to implement the document and that the path is not strewn with roses but planted with mines. A few hours later, 'Ali al-Bid's fears came true when the first battle erupted in a border area between units of the Southern Unity [al-Wahdah] Brigade and the Northern Giants [al-'Amaliqah] Brigade. Sanaa said that the YSP fabricated the confrontation to reinforce its presence in al-Mukalla Province, whereas Aden said that Colonel 'Ali Muhsin al-Ahmar, commander of the First Armored Division and President 'Ali Salih's half-brother, was behind igniting the confrontation because of his opposition to the covenant. On the following day, a broader and more serious confrontation erupted. Thus, the chain of battles and of people killed and wounded started.

Far From Modern State

A member of the Yemeni delegation in Amman said to *AL-WATAN AL-'ARABI*, "We are tribal and we are still very far from the modern state. Even I who sit with you here am tribal despite the fact that I have studied in Europe. I talk about dialogue and democracy and I defend the counter opinion. But when the moment of

truth comes, the tribal spark ignites within me and I forget all I have studied." When we asked him if he expects the Amman accord to fail, he said, "There are dozens of agreements which haven't been implemented. We agreed previously. But the difficulty has always been in implementation. Despite this, the Amman accord is the most important to date. It has a timetable and it has dealt with numerous details that weren't tackled by past accords. We hope that whenever things get dark—and they are dark in our country most of the time—we will seek guidance from this accord!"

This Is How Battles Erupted

Why did battles erupt and how do Northerners and Southerners view the covenant? A Yemeni delegation member who requested that his identity not be revealed has said, "Decades of division, colonialism, tribal rivalries, backwardness, and poverty make it impossible to move to a modern democratic state as fast as intellectuals wish. It is a matter of legacy and of entrenched concepts. What more than this massive arrival of Yemenis in Amman would one ask for? But then the response to those who seek unity has been a war declaration." He went on to add, "One must acknowledge that our centers of power are infiltrated. There are secret hands that strike from time to time and there are divided loyalties. Moreover, the mentality of the Northerners who put tribe above any party or social consideration is different from the mentality of the Southerners who have had contact with the British and the Soviets, who have been educated and many of whom have become politicized Marxists."

We asked him: "As a Southerner, what is your viewpoint?"

He responded, "Frankly, President 'Ali Salih controls most of the political and military positions through the tribe. His immediate family rules Yemen. This condition doesn't please me and doesn't please our people in the South. We are more educated and more capable of management. Yet, our share of power isn't compatible

with our capabilities. It is true that the Northerners exceed us in numbers. But even by this criterion, we are done an injustice."

But what about the oil factor? He responded, "You are aware that there are vast oil stores in the Southern territories. The discovery of this wealth has stirred a sense of injustice among our kinsmen, and they constantly wonder if unity with the North is in their interest or not. They say that the North, which dominates the decisionmaking, is capable of exploiting and devouring the South's oil, and they demand a fair distribution of wealth."

So, you aren't against unity? "No, not at all. We are only opposed to concentrating influence in the hands of certain people to the exclusion of others. We are against the North's devouring of the South. We want an equal unity, not a unity of annexation. However, people have to be educated and persuaded of the benefit of unity. We are a single people. Our tribes are the same and our roots are the same. But we are like two brothers, each of whom has grown up in a different environment. When the two meet, this environment makes each brother seem to be the antithesis of the other."

But the document gives you more than what you have had, doesn't it? In response, he said, "Even though the document seeks to increase the South's share of power, which is our right, it doesn't meet all our demands. Despite this, we have accepted it. However, the percentage of Northerners who reject it is higher than the percentage of Southerners who reject it. The reason is that the document takes away some power and some influence from the Northerners. The centers of power in Sanaa seek to dominate Aden completely. This is what made al-Bid stay in retreat in the South for six months."

Do you expect the battles to continue? Another Yemeni delegation member said, "The situation is very tense and people in both parts are very afraid. There are true efforts to defuse the situation. But it is very difficult to tell whether these efforts will succeed. The issue depends on how sincerely the two sides have accepted the covenant and accord and how able they are to implement it."

INDIA

U.S. Move on F-16s Seen Against National Interest*94AS0247B Varanasi AJ in Hindi 26 Mar 94 p 6***[Editorial: "Dangerous to Maintenance of Peace"]**

[Text] India has strongly objected to the U.S. offer to provide F-16 planes to Pakistan. Mr. Krishnan Srinivasan, Indian foreign secretary, has made it clear to U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Robin Raphel that provision of these planes to Pakistan will increase tension in this region and endanger security here. Prime Minister Narasimha Rao has already said the same thing to the U.S. senators visiting India recently. History proves that whenever the United States provided large-scale weapon aid to Pakistan, these were used against India. Whenever Pakistan received weapons in large quantity by becoming member of the SEATO and CENTO military pacts, it started its conspiracy to take over Kashmir. At that time, the United States had assured us that Pakistan will not use those weapons against India. Pakistan did not pay heed to it and attacked India using Sabre jets and Patten tanks. It is not possible that the U.S. politicians are not aware of this fact. Robin Raphel should not have any problem in proving this through her government documents. Now that the United States is suspending Pressler amendment for one year and providing F-16 planes to Pakistan, we cannot deny the creation of a very dangerous situation.

Robin Raphel told India's foreign secretary that the United States wants to initiate the process to resolve the problems between the two countries and welcomes the talks held between the two countries last January. So far so good, however, the United States is thinking about suspending the Pressler amendment for a short period. This will disrupt the power balance not only between India and Pakistan but in the whole of South Asia. While the United States is talking about maintaining peace in this region, its actions will only create military rivalry and conflict here. It appears that the U.S. government is trying everything to keep both India and Pakistan happy. It tried to remove the tension created by a statement issued earlier by sending the deputy secretary here and, at the same time, loosened the Pressler amendment to satisfy Pakistan. It is not difficult to see how this political ploy of Clinton administration is giving a conflicting message. Republican Senator Larry Pressler has expressed serious concern over this decision of the Clinton administration. He also met President Clinton to question him about the proposal to give exemption under this law.

There is no doubt that if the Pressler amendment is suspended, Pakistan will get 71 F-16 planes, three submarines for its navy, and the destructive planes P-3 Orion. This will naturally increase Pakistan's military might. Not only its air force but also its navy will become significantly stronger. The step the United States is

taking by suspending Pressler amendment for one year in order to comply with the older arms deal with Pakistan will greatly increase Pakistan's military power, which in turn will directly endanger India's security. As Prime Minister Narasimha Rao has said, this will trigger a new weapons race and India will have to rethink its defense policy. The United States is also the world's largest arms dealer. The Clinton administration is forced to consider suspending the Pressler amendment for a short time under pressure from the company that manufactures F-16 planes. In this context, he has to write a letter assuring that Pakistan does not have an atomic bomb. How will this be done? That is an interesting subject. The reason is that for the last several years there have been talks about Pakistan having nuclear bombs. This news was published in prominent American newspapers. The Pakistani prime minister has admitted that her country is not without a nuclear program. That is why the Pressler amendment was imposed on Pakistan. This law can be suspended only by sacrificing a declared policy and principles for trade profits and selfish reasons.

U.S. Offer of F-16s to Pakistan Criticized*94AS0247A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 30 Mar 94 p 6***[Editorial: "Nuclear Non-Proliferation and F-16s"]**

[Except] The United States has proposed to Pakistan that it should sign the NPT in exchange for receiving 38 F-16 fighter planes. However, the Pakistani rulers have rejected this proposal and have asked for some clarification which perhaps will be given during the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbot's visit to Islamabad. Pakistan's foreign minister, Sardar Asif Ali, maintains that his country will not sign that agreement unilaterally, and that the United States is aware that Pakistan will accept the NPT only when India is willing to sign it along with Pakistan. The truth is that both India and Pakistan have very different reasons for not signing the NPT. India has made it clear that its nuclear program is for peaceful purposes and it has no desire to make nuclear weapons. As for the NPT, it mostly protects the interests of nations that already have huge arsenals of nuclear weapons. Therefore, it is impossible for India to sign such a biased document. Meanwhile, Pakistan has avoided signing the NPT considering India a major danger to itself. In the context of the new U.S. proposal tied to the supply of F-16 planes, Pakistan has repeated the same old rhetoric that it cannot jeopardize its security just to get 38 F-16 planes.

The fact is that the Pakistani rulers have tied their nuclear program to the resolution of the Jammu-Kashmir issue. They say that this issue has endangered the peace and stability of this region, and they do not want to tie their hands by signing the NPT while this issue is not resolved. This attitude of Pakistani rulers has unmasked their unholy designs to the whole world. It is avoiding signing the NPT by joining it to the Kashmir issue, and is secretly attaining nuclear capability with Chinese help. It has also been learned that Pakistan has

the capability to make 12 bombs as powerful as were dropped on Hiroshima. It is not possible that the Clinton administration is not aware of it. Islamabad has joined its nuclear program with terrorist activities and all these activities are aimed against India. The U.S. government had at one time proposed including Pakistan in the list of terrorist nations based on this report. However, he United States changed its plan saying that Pakistan's attitude has changed and it was expected that Pakistan will improve. However, instead of improving its attitude, Pakistan has increased anti-India activities and is fully involved in making nuclear weapons. We feel pity for the U.S. government which, instead of putting pressure on Pakistan to stop this program, has announced through one of its senior officials in Washington that if Pakistan suspends its nuclear program the United States will provide it with 38 F-16 planes costing \$658 million. This is a paradox and shows the sly tricks of the nation that calls itself the greatest power in the world. It tells Pakistan to stop its nuclear program and at the same time offers to provide it with the dangerous F-16 war planes.

Does not the Clinton administration know that if it provides F-16 planes in its efforts to stop nuclear proliferation in South Asia to end the danger of a nuclear war, then no one can stop the tension and weapon race in this region? India has insisted this to be the case repeatedly. Recently Home Minister Chavan informed the U.S. senators visiting New Delhi about India's fear that supplying Pakistan with F-16 planes despite the Pressler amendment will only increase tension in this region while we need to reduce it. If this still does not make sense to the American mind then its policy about South Asia becomes suspect. One reason for this belief and why this fear was strengthened is the advice given by the U.S. print media to India that it should support Clinton government's proposal under which it is giving F-16 planes to Pakistan in order to make it suspend its nuclear program. India's refusal to agree with this proposal and remaining adamant on its stand will be interpreted as hegemonic instead of desiring stability in the sub-continent. [passage omitted]

Purpose Behind U.S. Manipulation of GATT Viewed

94AS0245C New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 29 Mar 94
pp 1, 5

[Article by Chitra Subrahmanyam: "Ultimately, What Is Behind American and European Sympathy for Laborers?"; all quotation marks as published]]

[Text] Geneva, 28 March. Full preparations have been made to declare India's cheap labor to be an unfair business practice. India has been in a position to make profits when competing with the Western nations because of the cheap labor here. Formal signing of the GATT will take place in Morocco on 15 April. However, right before this, the United States and allies have expanded the sphere of the world trade agreement and

have started a major campaign to include labor rates, the environment, human rights and other such issues in it. In the end, India's position will be greatly weakened when these issues are included in this agreement.

The Parliament is starting a special two day session on Tuesday to approve GATT. Meanwhile, the United States and the European group, especially France, have started to say that these new issues are related to trade. They maintain that strict rules are necessary to make sure that developing countries "do not take unnecessary advantage." Meanwhile, the developing nations say that the United States, by forcing issues that are not related to trade into this agreement, is endangering multi-national trade.

The diplomats say that this powerful campaign to expand GATT's sphere and establish strict trade policies is just an effort to hide the protectionism practices of the richer nations. The United States and France are expressing rare agreement and saying that the time has come to give priority to the rights of laborers. Both countries are using cheap labor as an excuse to attack the developing countries and the export-based economies. The United States wants to add a paragraph to have the World Trade Organization (WTO) show its commitment to the "accepted level of labor." The WTO will replace GATT after the signing in Morocco.

This issue will be discussed in Brussels on Wednesday. Leon Briton, European Union's trade representative, will present a report that day requesting the WTO to pay attention to right to form unions, child and prison labor, and other social issues. The French authorities claim that this issue was discussed under employment during the G-7 nations meeting summit conference. This issue will top the agenda that Mickey Cantor, the U.S. trade negotiator, and Gerald Languet, the French negotiator, will discuss in Marrakech. Both these officials are going to demand that the WTO should have the right to investigate this problem soon. Peter Southerland, the executive director of GATT, told the participants in Geneva that he objects involving in trade the issues that the Western nations call "dumping the social garbage." However, a U.S. official said last week that President Clinton is committed to make the labor rights part of the WTO and it will be the duty of the U.S. trade representative to make sure that this goal is achieved. The official did admit that not all agree on this issue, however, he expressed the hope that consensus will be reached by the middle of April.

Developing nations say that the United States adds whatever it wants to GATT. These countries want that issues related to labor be discussed in the International Labor Organization. However, the Western nations say that the International Labor Organization is an ineffective shop where all they do is have some discussions. Therefore, these issues should be taken care of in the WTO. After the appeals to establish standards for labor,

the United States has threatened China for not protecting human rights and Indonesia for not protecting labor rights. India can be its next target.

The present turmoil is reminding the diplomats of the "Montreal Syndrome." In 1988, the midterm analysis of the Uruguay Round was done in Montreal, and the whole agenda on trade was changed according to the demands of the United States and European countries. At that time, the U.S. strategy was to reduce the agenda of the issues that were not agreed upon earlier or in Montreal.

These issues were Trade-related Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS), Trade-related Import Methods (TRIMS), and services. Strong pressures were put on developing nations there. Even worse was that they were given threats of unilateral action against them under the Super-301 and Special-301.

India was pressured using the intellectual property rights. The United States ignored the talks to be held in Geneva and raised this issue with India in 1989. The discussion was limited to the fact that GATT officials have access to Indian politicians and bureaucrats. After Montreal, as the result of the discussions in Geneva, solid rules and regulations about intellectual property rights were added. All this had nothing to do with GATT, and there was no provision in its original announcement about it. Meanwhile, the developing nations were left reviewing the new areas that were included under the pretext of their being "related to trade."

After India had bowed down under U.S. pressure, the Indian delegate said on 8 April 1989, "We have provided an opportunity for multi-party approach, therefore, the decision on the conclusion of these talks must be made by the ministers from the Uruguay round. We will be satisfied if no decision is made before that." The results of the April 1989 meeting were disastrous for India. Instead of getting any benefits, India kept trying to reduce its losses.

The United States is pulling the same trick again. It is trying to force a decision using the pretext of the labor issue. India is insisting again that no decision should be forced without full discussions. Both are using the same language, and India's representatives are the same. One can assume what the result will be.

Moynihan Meets With Dinesh Singh, Addresses Panel

94AS0229A Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 17 Feb 94 p 6

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 16—The external affairs minister, Mr Dinesh Singh, yesterday urged for Indo-U.S. co-operation against terrorism during his meeting with the U.S. Senator, Mr Daniel Patrick Moynihan, here.

While providing the Senator an account of the present situation in Kashmir, Mr Dinesh Singh provided details about Pakistani aid being provided to terrorists in Kashmir.

While urging for the need for the two large democracies to cooperate against terrorism and promotion of peace, Mr Dinesh Singh told the visiting U.S. Senator that it was also necessary for Pakistan to desist from supporting terrorism if it was serious about normalising relations.

During discussions which otherwise focused on bilateral relations, both the leaders felt that economic relationship was being strengthened by the day and that this was a happy development that should be taken even further. Mr Moynihan observed that there had indeed been great increase in the United States' economic engagement with India which augurs well for the future.

The minister of state for external affairs, Mr Salman Khursheed, said today Indo-U.S. relations were "alike and close" though, inevitably, there were differences on many issues.

Speaking at a meeting of the Indo-U.S. sub-commission on education and culture, he said the differences sometimes became sharper and acute, but would not come in the way of the growing strong and mature relations between the two nations.

Mr Khursheed said with the liberalisation of the Indian economy, new channels of co-operation had opened up between India and the United States. India provided a vast market of 250 million middle-class people. India and China would play an important and active role in the world economies. Globalisation of economy could help forge strong bonds of friendship.

Referring to the shortage of funds being faced by the commission, Mr Khursheed said this had to be remedied since the body greatly helped to develop strong "cultural and educational bonds between the two nations." At the same time, he expressed apprehensions about invasion of foreign culture. The commission should play an active role in avoiding a clash of cultures.

He said the United States offered vast opening to India in science and technology, professional management and other fields.

In his speech, Mr Moynihan stressed the need for upgrading the Indo-U.S. relations in all spheres since some described the two countries as "estranged democracies."

He said non-resident Indians in the United States were playing an active part in commercial and political activities.

Meanwhile, the former foreign secretary, Mr J.N. Dixit, today said Indo-U.S. relations were passing through a difficult patch which could last up to two years.

Rao Visit to U.S. Questioned

94AS0245A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 23 Mar 94
p 4

[Article by Radhe Shyam Yadav: "Should the Prime Minister Go to America?"]

[Text] We are so accommodating of the United States that questions about our lack of pride are raised even in U.S. Senate committees. However, our foreign ministry and the Parliamentary committees dealing with foreign affairs never pay any heed to it. Recently, the Assistant Secretary for South Asian Affairs, Robin Raphel, was grilled in a U.S. Senate sub-committee as to why the Clinton Administration has not appointed an ambassador to India. However, this question was never raised in the Indian political and administrative circles. The Clinton Administration has not appointed an ambassador to India after more than one year in office. Despite this, Our ambassador is also making plans for Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's visit to the United States. When all this is happening, the question arises as to whether India's prime minister should visit that country.

Several important persons, including four former foreign secretaries, have reacted in support of and in opposition to the visit. Two of them support an immediate visit by the prime minister (so that misunderstandings and miscommunications are removed and an atmosphere of friendship and cooperation is created). The other side says that it is the United States that has stained the relations (and is not willing to appoint an ambassador soon). Why should the Indian prime minister visit the U.S. before the Clinton administration makes the first move? This is especially true when the Clinton administration does not recognize Kashmir's joining India as complete and final and calls it disputed territory. In such a political climate, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's visiting the United States would mean that India has knelt down to the United States because of its kind deeds done through the World Bank and India has no alternative but to play the U.S. game of keeping India and Pakistan at odds with each other. Is it necessary for India to inform the United States, the rest of the world, and, most of all, Pakistan about this submission? If it is not necessary, then how can the Indian prime minister visit the United States before a U.S. ambassador is appointed to India? Such a step is taken only by countries that are economically and politically slaves.

It is true that the United States has invested more money in India than any other country and has provided technology to India in many areas. At the same time, it is also true that it has been regularly encouraging Pakistan to sink its teeth into India's heels. The U.S. President's comment on Kashmir in the United Nations, reference to human rights violations in Punjab and Kashmir, and U.S. officials' declaring Kashmir a disputed region are actions which cue the Pakistani government (and its intelligence agency—Interservices Intelligence) [ISI] and the terrorists and separatists in Kashmir and Punjab to

accelerate their activities against India. These hints are followed up. The groups active in this region and Benazir and her government in Pakistan accelerate their activities against India. Therefore, the Indian prime minister's visit to the United States in the midst of the U.S. government's anti-India activities is nothing but an insult to our country and its people.

There was a time when governments formed by the opposition parties used to be involved in such actions. When the government of a coalition of opposition parties was formed, its cabinet members began to dash to the United States (and then-U.S. friend China's capital, Beijing). No Congress Party government has taken a step in the past that embarrassed our nation. We do remember Indira Gandhi's visit to the United States when she was allowed to meet with Reagan only after she was checked with a metal detector for security reasons. (This insult was meted out perhaps to avenge her for her actions that broke up Pakistan in 1971). However, at that time, Indira Gandhi needed the President's support because she wanted to borrow money from the World Bank. However, at this time when India's foreign exchange reserve is satisfactory and India has also agreed to the Dunkel proposals, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao has no such exigencies that are forcing him to visit the United States. It is not appropriate to try to improve relations when the United States is involved in damaging Indo-United States relations by putting on different kinds of pressures.

In addition, this tension in the relationship did not occur suddenly. The U.S. government has been creating this tension methodically. Its goals are to have India sign the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty] after it has agreed to the Dunkel proposals, and to stop it from having better relations with China and Iran. The United States does tolerate India's relations with Russia to a level where it is in a position to help India make progress in science and technology. For example, the United States is not only worried but also alarmed by India's progress in its space program, energy projects, defense implements such as rockets, tanks, radars, fighter planes, and naval vessels. Additionally, if India is able to make economic progress independently, the United States will not be able to control its huge market. Therefore, it is important for the United States to control India's scientific progress and economic development through the World Bank. When this plan is transparent, is it appropriate for the U.S. government to hint to India that it show its willingness to make this plan successful?

Singh Meets With Belgian Foreign Minister

94AS0229I Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA in English
12 Feb 94 pp 1, 17

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 11—Belgium has asked Pakistan not to globalise the Kashmir issue and hailed India's six-point proposal to Islamabad for initiating a peace process between the two countries at the bilateral level, report agencies.

The Belgian foreign minister, Mr Willy Claes, during his talks with the external affairs minister, Mr Dinesh Singh, in Brussels, said it was not appropriate for Pakistan to internationalise the Kashmir issue. He stressed the need for the two countries to resolve the issue bilaterally through discussions, an official release said here today.

Mr Claes said the European union was keen to develop closer links with Asia, especially India.

He said India's six-point confidence-building proposals to Pakistan could mark the beginning of the peace process.

The Belgian minister said the problem of fundamentalism and terrorism posed a threat to the European union also. The EU had an interest in the stability of the Asian region, he added.

Mr Singh referred to Pakistan's instigation of terrorist activities in Jammu and Kashmir and its attempts to internationalise the Kashmir issue in various international fora through false propaganda on human rights.

Mr Singh was assisted in the talks by the foreign secretary, Mr K. Srinivasan, and other senior officials.

Mr Singh also expressed India's commitment to strengthening friendly ties with Belgium, both in the bilateral field and in the wider context of relations with the EU.

In a related development, India has regretted Pakistan's raising of the Kashmir issue at the non-aligned movement (NAM) foreign ministers' meeting in Jakarta.

Exercising the right of reply at the meeting yesterday, the minister of state for external affairs, Mr R.L. Bhatia, said it was a "well-known fact that the problems of Kashmir, which is an integral part of India, is a result of terrorism actively sponsored by Pakistan."

The Pakistani foreign minister raised the Kashmir issue and contended that the security of small states had been threatened and the right to self-determination was being denied to the people.

In Kashmir valley, meanwhile, a militant-sponsored bandh paralysed normal life today even as the security forces shot dead four Pakistan-trained militants and arrested seven others since yesterday evening.

A huge cache of arms, ammunition and explosives were recovered from the arrested militants.

The main building of the district police line in Doda district of the Jammu region was gutted in a fire. The building was damaged in the incident and some store items were also gutted. However, the armoury was saved from much damage, an official spokesman told reporters here today.

A complete bandh was observed in the valley today in response to the call given by the Jammu and Kashmir

Liberation Front (JKLF) to observe the tenth death anniversary of its founder, Maqbul Bhat, as "third option day" today.

Maqbul Bhat was hanged to death in Tihar jail on this day in 1984 on the charge of murder of a police official.

In Srinagar and rest of the valley, all shops and business establishments remained closed and transport was also off the roads.

The summer capital wore a deserted look with only a large number of security forces present on the roads and security vehicles plying.

In view of the bandh call and the JKLF's plan to hold demonstrations, the authorities deployed additional forces on the main streets and in sensitive areas.

Four Pakistan-returned militants including a self-styled company commander of a militant outfit were killed by the security forces in two separate encounters at Bomai and Sangrama in Baramulla district yesterday evening, the official spokesman said.

He said three improvised explosive devices and an anti-personnel mine were detected by the security forces during search operations at Anantnag district. The explosive devices were later defused.

French Senate Delegation Meets Press

94AS0229E Madras THE HINDU in English 13 Feb 94 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 12—The visiting French Senate delegation says it is "convinced that dialogue (between India and Pakistan on Kashmir) is necessary and the exclusive (only) way to approach a solution."

This was stated by the delegation's leader, Mr. Xavier de Villepin, at a press conference here soon after the team had a meeting with the Prime Minister Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao, here on Friday.

The influential French Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs, Defence and the Armed Forces is to report its observations on the Indian position with respect to Kashmir, human rights and terrorism, besides non-proliferation and security-related issues, to the French Government.

Mr. de Villepin said he delivered a letter to Mr. Rao from the French Prime Minister, Mr. Edouard Balladur, in which the French leader had suggested "across-the-border" intensified cooperation with India in the political, economic and cultural fields.

In response to questions, Mr. de Villepin said "We also have respect for India's policy on Kashmir. We have no reason to criticise the position. We will objectively report what we have seen here. In France we are very concerned with human rights, but we are against terrorism in the world. France has also suffered on account of terrorism."

Answering another question, Mr. de Villepin said, "After being briefed by the Prime Minister we understand the situation much better than before and appreciate the risks and dangers involved, should the dialogue process suffer."

At their "cordial" meeting, the Prime Minister, reportedly stressed the overriding value of continuing dialogue with Pakistan in dealing with all contentions bilateral issues, including Kashmir. No development should be permitted to intervene that could hurt the nascent process of dialogue that commenced only last month, he said. In the context of the publicised Pakistani intention to bring forward an anti-India resolution on Kashmir at the U.N. Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) in Geneva.

In this context it is noteworthy that the French Foreign Minister, Mr. Alain Juppe, told his Pakistani counterpart, Mr. Asif Ali, who was in Paris on a private visit about a week ago to canvass support for his country's proposed resolution on Kashmir, that any resolution would be worth considering and supporting if it furthered the prospects of ongoing dialogue.

When the resolution comes up for voting, members of the European Union (EU) are expected to take a common position, rather than individual country stances. The French view attains significance in this overall framework.

EU sources here also suggest that member countries have not been impressed by a Pakistani note accompanying a copy of its proposed resolution being circulated among the 53 members of the UNCHR. The note is remarkable for suggesting that India is impervious to the human rights situation in the Kashmir Valley. "This does not ring true," sources observed.

Delegation sources later said they did not appreciate the idea of the kind of resolution Pakistan was proposing at a time such as this as it could distract from ongoing discussions to solve a very intricate problem.

"Just look at the Middle East. It is a great lesson. Where would we all be if the dialogue between the contending parties had broken down?" a Senate Committee source observed.

Mr. de Villepin said cooperation between France and India could cover a wide field including defence, high-tech areas such as satellites, telecom and electronics, and agro-business and vaccine development, covering commercial arrangements in both public and private sectors.

Analyst on Stability of Relations With PRC

94AS0229Q Madras THE HINDU in English 7 Feb 94
p 8

[Article by K.K. Katyal: "Stabilizing Ties With China"]

[Text] It is a measure of stability of the Sino-Indian relations that there was no undue despair over the

limited progress by their experts, at their meeting last week to sort out differences over the expansion of confidence building measures [CBMs] along the border. On the contrary, the headlines on the conclusion of their two days' discussions were based on a positive but general comment of the Foreign Office spokesman—that both sides had adopted a "constructive and forward-looking approach." He need not have taken shelter behind these cliches. The slow advance in the negotiations on sensitive matters, connected with the advanced stage of the CBMs, is unlikely to cause a misunderstanding. On the contrary, there is the danger of avoidable suspicion if official remarks are seen as glossing over specifics.

The experts, a mixed group of diplomats and military personnel, met as a follow-up of the agreement, reached during the Prime Minister, Mr. P.V. Narasimha Rao's visit to China in September last year, through which the two sides formalised their resolve to maintain peace and tranquillity along the Line of Control. The agreement, it was stated then, had established a framework, but details were to be settled in keeping with the principle of "mutual and equal security." The "depth, timing and nature" of the reduction of forces—to cite one measure—were to be settled through mutual discussions. Going by official statements (and also what was left unstated) at the time of Mr. Rao's visit, the experts were to sort out differences on the alignment of the LAC [Line of Actual Control], reducing the military forces along it and the modalities for re-deployment, so as to end the eyeball-to-eyeball confrontation (in some cases). The last task would also involve relocation of border posts.

This is not an easy job, complicated as much by the background of confrontation as by the terrain where equality in the depth of withdrawal could confer unequal advantages on the two sides. The negotiations, therefore, were bound to be hard and tough and even the next round may not be final. This should not cause dismay, much less alarm. On the contrary, it is a matter of satisfaction that persisting differences are contained within the framework for negotiations and do not disturb either the peace in the border region or the CBMs, already in place. The two sides may not have yet pulled out troops in conformity with a mutually agreed plan but were known to have effected withdrawal on the basis of their respective, independent assessments.

The steps already taken or intended to be taken (subject to the mutual agreement) are no flash-in-the-pan affair but are anchored in the political understanding borne out of contacts at various levels, from the top downward. It had been an incremental process that promoted amity not only on border-related issues but in most of the bilateral field. The border has been tension-free now for years and even those Western correspondents, who specialised in predicting conflict and hostilities in the late Eighties on the strength of the flimsiest of pointers, have not predicted a clash. The contacts between the commanders and other related steps involved the military forces in the institutionalised arrangement to maintain peace in the

border areas. It worked well and was gradually expanded. What is now being attempted is a further expansion, based on a firmer basis.

The progress and the positive results achieved in this case encouraged New Delhi to suggest an identical arrangement to Pakistan to stabilise the Line of Control in Jammu and Kashmir. This was the subject-matter of one of the six proposals, conveyed to Islamabad last month for a smooth working arrangement. The most comprehensive document, it was virtually in the form of a draft agreement, based as it was on the parallel with the Sino-Indian border. The LAC in Jammu and Kashmir, as a matter of fact, is already demarcated, with the two sides committed to respecting it under the Shimla Agreement. The fact that there are no ambiguities about it should have been an advantage but, in the context of distrust and acrimony, the deadlock persists.

The involvement of the military establishments in the Sino-Indian contacts is comparatively a recent development. The interaction began in the late Eighties but picked up in the aftermath of the positive process set in motion in December 1988 by the China visit of the then Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi. It got a new impetus in 1992 by the Beijing trip of the Defence Minister of the day, Mr. Sharad Pawar. Mr. Pawar's move, itself, followed contacts at other levels—the 1990 visit to China of a team of the National Defence College and a return trip here by a delegation of the Chinese National Defence University. Recently, the military exchanges got a new spurt—with a visit by the Chinese Vice Chief of the Army Staff here after a gap of some 30 years and calls for the Chinese naval ships at Bombay after four decades.

This is a matter of satisfaction, but not of euphoria. There are certain features of China's policies which cannot but cause worry here. China, as is known, had been of crucial help to Pakistan by providing it nuclear know-how. But for it, Islamabad, perhaps, would not have achieved the present level of development of its nuclear capability. Recently Chinese supplies of M-11 missiles to Pakistan not only caused nervousness here but also attracted the notice of the United States—it was regarded a violation of the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), to which Beijing is a party. China, of course, does not see anything unusual in it—this and other supplies are described as commercial deals, and as the Chinese Ambassador in New Delhi, Mr. Ruisheng Cheng, said the other day, India could be a buyer of the military hardware if it desired.

China's nuclear capability—and its leaps forward—could not but be a source of discomfort to India. The installation of nuclear weapons in Tibet merely demonstrated the meaning of the Chinese programme for India. It could not be directed at major powers in the West. The other nations which should be worried are Japan and the ASEAN [Association of South East Asian Nations] countries. But, surprisingly, both China, a nuclear power, and, Japan a non-nuclear power are signatories to the

Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty [NPT] and often lecture India on the virtues of acceding to the treaty. Logically, Japan should have a better appreciation of India's concerns but, perhaps because of pressures from Washington and others in the industrialised world, it echoes their exhortations to New Delhi. The ASEAN members have big economic stakes in China in the wake of its gigantic reform and liberalisation processes. This tends to submerge the concerns over Beijing's nuclear policies and related matters. But, in their heart of hearts, there is a desire to balance a forward-looking China with some other power—India could be one—now that the United States has curtailed its presence in the region.

The bilateral relations between countries are seldom a black-or-white affair, but a mix of the positive and the negative, the comforting and the worrisome. The Sino-Indian ties are no exception, and if there are incongruities in the different elements of the total relationship, it should be taken as a normal feature.

The mutually conflicting strands manifest themselves in varied forms. Take the case of India and its stand on the NPT. When pressured by the Western nations to accede to the treaty or accept its regional variant, India pleads its inability to do so because of its security concerns. New Delhi wants them to take into account the China factor. And they turn round and say: "But haven't you normalised your relations with China? Have you not agreed to maintain peace and tranquillity along the border?"

Not long ago, Pakistan-China relationship was India's major worry. Because of their shared antipathy to India, the two countries found several convergence points in their neighbourhood policies. Pakistan achieved a major success by securing China's public support on the Kashmir and other problems with India. Beijing did not mince words in backing the demand for a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir. Also, other neighbours like Nepal made full use of the China card against India. No such voices emanate from Beijing now. China supports the idea of a solution of Kashmir and other issues through direct, bilateral discussions between India and Pakistan. It sees no other role for itself—certainly not as a mediator. During her recent visit to Beijing, the Pakistan Prime Minister, Ms. Benazir Bhutto, failed to secure China's support on these matters. But otherwise Sino-Pakistan warmth remains undiminished.

And what about the United States and China? With all the talk against the human rights record of China, the United States has not hesitated in forging close trade ties with it. It is a new, pragmatic pattern—and Sino-Indian ties fit into it with several pluses—but with some minuses.

Relations With China Seen Improving

94AS0237D Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi
14 Mar 94 p 6

[Article by Radhanath Chaturvedi: "India and China: Extending the Hand of Friendship to Each other"]

[Text] Some recent incidents seem to hint that the chasm created between India and China during the 1962 confrontation is becoming narrower now. One of the indicators of this change is China's reaction to the Pakistani resolution in the UN Human Rights Commission [UNHRC] meeting in Geneva.

Pakistan is so agitated over the Jammu-Kashmir issue that it raises it at every international platform and is always defeated. It brought this issue up in the form of a resolution in the UNHRC meeting in Geneva. Pakistan first suggested that an international task force be sent to Kashmir for investigating human rights violations there and that a report be presented in the 49th session of the United Nations. Later, it amended this resolution and demanded that the situation related to human rights violations be investigated and India be asked to protect human rights there. It did not mention India in the first draft, however, the finger was clearly pointed towards India. India was mentioned by name in the amended resolution.

There are 53 members on this commission and China is one of them. Usually, China supports Pakistan against India, however, this time China said when the resolution was introduced that if Pakistan insisted on a vote then it would not participate in the vote. This is a new development. Also, when Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto went to Beijing on official visit, she had asked the Chinese leaders to support Pakistan openly over the Jammu-Kashmir issue. China had expressed disagreement over the proposal which was made public in the communication published after the Pakistani prime minister's visit.

After the fall of the Soviet Union, no major world power is left to support India at the international level over the Jammu-Kashmir issue. The U.S. attitude is known to all. Against this background, the Chinese attitude from the Indian perspective was very welcome, and still is.

An even more important fact than these two developments is the meeting of military officials and diplomats from India and China to discuss the border-related differences between the two countries. Although no decisions were made in this meeting held in New Delhi, the atmosphere lacked tension and the attitude on every issue was cooperative and productive. In this meeting, discussion centered around such topics as making some changes in the Line of Control in the northeastern region, changing sites of some military posts, reducing the number of soldiers, and starting and increasing trade across the border. It is clear that some of these problems are so old that these cannot be resolved in a single meeting. Therefore, one or two more meetings will be

held. The next meeting following the diplomatic protocol should be held in Beijing, and will take place soon.

The series of these meeting started after Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's visit to China in September 1993. However, the efforts to improve relations began in the early 80s. In December 1988, then Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi visited China. The groundwork he created for goodwill was further enhanced by Defense Minister Sharad Pawar's visit to China. A deputation from the National Defense College visited China in 1990. On their invitation, a representative group from the Chinese National Defense University came to visit India. At that time, military deputations were encouraged to visit each other. The vice commander of the Chinese army visited India after about three decades. After about 40 years, a Chinese naval ship docked at an Indian port in Bombay.

All these remind one of the days when India and China had come into contact at the Bandung Conference [1954]. Both countries had jointly expressed faith in the Panchashila principles. This relationship was poisoned with Zhou Enlai's demand to have Aksai Chin, forcible occupation of Tibet, India's silent acceptance, and finally the war on the northeastern border in 1962. The final episode destroyed the late Krishna Menon's dream of friendship between the two nations, and killed the first Prime Minister Nehru. Mr. Nehru was greatly hurt by the Chinese attack and could not bear it. It took 20-25 years to dissolve the bitterness that was created in 1962.

It is true that India can take a sigh of relief at the indications of both countries coming together. However, there is no reason to stop worrying and become complacent.

The main reason for India's worry is the Chinese progress in the area of nuclear technology for weapons. Secondly, China is still supplying weapons to Pakistan. China's recent sale of 11 missiles to Pakistan has shaken us up. Even worse than this is China's attitude about trade. The United States used to supply weapon to Pakistan in the past. The mention of Star warplanes was often made in this context. However, the United States was upset at Pakistan's efforts at making nuclear bombs. It began to lose interest in Pakistan and restricted supply of weapons to an extent. China came forward at such an opportunity and started to supply missiles and other weapons. These missiles cannot be used against any country except India. China considers the sale of these missiles to be purely a business deal. When India expressed its concern, a Chinese government spokesman said that India can also purchase these missiles and other weapons from China if it so desires. It is willing to supply these to India also. This situation definitely causes concern. It puts a question mark on the efforts China has made to improve relations.

As for the border dispute, this is a major issue for India. India has seas on three sides. Except for Pakistan and China, there are friendly nations on our borders. There is no military danger from other countries. However the

same cannot be said of China. The country, with over one billion in population is 3,000 miles long and 2,500 miles wide. Its borders meet with 11 other countries. These countries are: North Korea, some regions of the former Soviet Union, Mongolia, Afghanistan, Nepal, India, Bhutan, Burma, Laos, and Vietnam. Pakistan has also joined as a neighbor of China now because China has taken over 2,000 square miles of Pakistan-occupied Kashmir.

There are very few countries with which China does not have border-related disputes. It disagrees with North Korea over the border in the Chang Chai mountains. Its border problems with the former Soviet Union is well known. There is disagreement with Myanmar over some areas in Yennan province. China has such economic, military and trade relations with Vietnam and Laos, and they have so much open travel among the three countries that it is not known where one country's border begins or ends. China disagrees with Nepal over Mount Everest. China says that Mount Everest is in China [Tibet] and Nepal says it is in Nepal. The groups that come to climb the Everest get permission from the Nepalese government. China has disputes with Mongolia also. Thus, involvement in border disputes has become a part of China's political life style.

If we can leave the border dispute alone and give some time for it to be resolved, the efforts that India and China are making to normalize their relations should continue. It appears very possible that these will continue and both countries will continue to have close ties.

Pakistan's Activities in Sri Lanka Protested

94AS0229K Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Feb 94 p 6

[Article by V. Jayanth]

[Text] Colombo, Feb. 10—The Indian High Commissioner in Sri Lanka, Mr. Nareshwar Dayal, has protested to the Sri Lankan Foreign Ministry against the activities of the Pakistan High Commission on the Kashmir issue.

Indian High Commission sources said "It is not in the diplomatic norms to announce public screening of films or propaganda material against a third country. And we have brought this to the notice of Colombo. The Government of India thinks it wise to ignore the rest of the routine propaganda that Islamabad has always whipped up. Let us see how things develop from here."

More than anything else, the concern of New Delhi seems to be to prevent Colombo from becoming another point for infiltration by Pakistani agents. India has expressed concern over the 'infiltration' through Kathmandu and more recently from Dhaka, of persons suspected to be trained by Pakistan's Inter-Services Intelligence Agency.

High Commission sources say there are standing instructions that visas should not be given to third country

nationals here for visiting India, without verifying the reasons and their antecedents from the mission in their country of origin. However, recently a group of Afghans landed in Madras with forged visas obtained through operators in Colombo. This was detected by the Immigration authorities.

The Foreign Ministry here has also been asked to step up the drive against these 'agencies' which issue bogus passports and visas. It has come to notice that many Sri Lankans themselves have more than one passport obtained through these 'operators' and they use a different one for each visit.

Recently, the U.S. Embassy too faced a problem, when advertisements appeared in the local press about a lottery for the issue of green cards. The Embassy promptly issued a counter advertisement appealing to the people not to be misled by any agency or operator.

Such agencies have become the order of the day and when travel has become so popular, they establish contacts with the embassies to obtain even a legal, visa through a short-cut.

The Indian High Commission in Colombo issues over 400 visas a day to all categories of travellers. A majority of Sri Lankans visiting India, are either pilgrims or patients, according to High Commission sources.

Paper Alleges ISI Efforts To Recruit Ahmadiya Youth

BK2504151294 Delhi THE HINDUSTAN TIMES in English 15 Apr 94 p 17

[Article by Avinash Singh]

[Text] New Delhi, 14 April. Having failed to achieve the desired results with the Sikh boys in forging an alliance with the Kashmiri militants under its K2 (Kashmir Khalistan) plan, so that their respective "freedom movements" could be guided to its logical conclusions Inter-Services Intelligence [ISI] of Pakistan with the assistance of Jihad Council is now trying its hands at Ahmadiya youth. [sentence as published]

While one of the Ahmadiya boys Zubair Ahmed, reported to be an activist of Babbar Khalsa, was shot dead at Qadian in Gurdaspur district, the international headquarters of the community some time back a couple of others have been nabbed by security agencies in Srinagar and Delhi in recent weeks.

The "arrests" have revealed that members of the Ahmadiya community were being recruited for dual purpose—reviving terrorism in Punjab and fomenting more trouble in Kashmir. Besides furthering the K2 ambition that got a battering in Punjab, the new recruitment is also aimed at bringing a bad name to the Ahmadiyas, a hated lot in Pakistan.

Ahmadiyas are the followers of London-based religious chief Mirza Tahir Ahmad, the fourth generation of

Khalifatul-Masih. Ahmadiyas have over the years been complaining of persecution in Pakistan where they are not treated as Muslims. As per the diktats of Islam there cannot be any Prophet after Prophet Mohammad, Muslims in Pakistan contend. Ahmadiyas, however, claim that they are true Muslims. They say that Mirza Tahir Ahmad is a "man of God", who "was born to bring comfort to fellow human beings."

It is understood that olive branch being held out to Ahmadiya youth while exhorting them to take to the gun is that once they proved their loyalty to Islam by joining the "Jehad" they could claim parity to other Muslim sects.

The brain behind this move is none other than Maj Gen-[Major General] designate Imtiaz, who is heading the Jehad Council. Interestingly, Brigadier Imtiaz was earlier heading the Kashmir cell of the ISI and was also the key functionary of the Joint Command Coordination Cell (JCC), later rechristened as the Jehad Council. The Major General-designate is currently being assisted by Col. Sadiq in Sialkot and Major Javed in Muzaffarabad.

Recent interrogation reports have disclosed that one Ayaz Ahmad was the first boy from the Ahmadiya community to be trained in Pakistan occupied Kashmir by the ISI sleuths sometime last year. He was sent to the Valley later to establish contact with youngsters from his clan and motivate them into joining the struggle for liberation of Kashmiris from the "shackles of India".

Ayaz escaped security dragnet twice in Kashmir and moved to the national capital where he took up the assignment of preparing fake passports and travel documents for ISI contacts and make their lodging arrangements in old Delhi area. These contacts started arriving in India by Samjhota Express after large number of them got killed while crossing the Line of Control (LOC) around November last year.

Another Ahmadiya boy active in Punjab has been identified as Habib Ahmad. Habib is operating for Babbar Khasla, an organisation for which his late younger brother Zubair was working. He has been making frequent trips to Kashmir with a view to establish fresh contact with the militants in the Valley in a bid to provide a fresh lease of life to the K2 plan.

Questioning of the arrested extremists have confirmed that Khalistani protagonists like Daljit Singh Bittoo of the Sikh Students Federation and Lakhbir Singh Rode (Khalistan Commando Force) are currently in Sialkot and were closely in touch with the Kashmiri militants. They are in the care of Col. Sadiq, who was earlier based in Multan.

Another votary of Khalistan Wassan Singh Zaffarwal, as per latest reports, was spotted in Muzaffarabad recently. He is believed to be closely associated with Major Javed, one of the very few to have direct access to Jehad Council chief Imtiaz.

Mutual Curbs on Indian, Pakistani Envoys Deplored

94AS0229S Madras THE HINDU in English 5 Feb 94
p 9

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 4—The recent episode of the Pakistan High Commissioner, Mr. Riaz Khokhar, not being allowed to go to Calcutta because of insufficient notice to the authorities has brought to light the treatment of Indian and Pakistani diplomats in each other's capital and the need to remove the current restrictions altogether both here and in Islamabad.

The restrictive regime was first introduced by Pakistan when it prescribed a seven-day notice by the Indian High Commissioner in Islamabad for going out of the city. The then envoy there, Mr. S.K. Singh, was the first to feel the pinch of the restraint—when he wanted to go to Peshawar to see the ailing Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan (regarded in India as one of the architects of Independence). Two years later, New Delhi slapped similar restrictions on a reciprocal basis. In practice, there have been instances of the two Governments waiving the requirement, but the restriction remained—and was intended to apply to various categories of diplomats (and, perhaps, their spouses also).

Recently, Mr. Khokhar sought permission to go to Calcutta but it was turned down on the ground that he had [not] given five days' notice. The authorities in the Home Ministry, responsible for processing such cases, could have taken a lenient view—as they had done in the case of Mrs. Khokhar earlier. They, however, stuck to the norms of reciprocity.

Such cases are bound to arise as long as the restrictive regime is in place. Why should there be curbs on Indians in Islamabad or Pakistanis in New Delhi, when the rest of the diplomatic corps in the two capitals is free to move about in the entire length and breadth of their host countries after a simple intimation? These curbs are not the only irritants, there being frequent complaints of shadowing by the minions of security agencies.

It was to rectify this situation that, in August 1992, the foreign secretaries of the two countries, Mr. J.N. Dixit and Mr. Shahryar Khan, agreed on a code of conduct, laying down do's and don'ts for the treatment of one country's diplomats in the other's capital.

The immediate provocation was provided by an unpleasant episode in Islamabad where a senior Indian diplomat was beaten up by the intelligence personnel. The code committed the two sides to avoiding "intrusive surveillance" and other forms of harassment of diplomats. It enjoined upon the concerned agencies to spare the families of the diplomatic and consular personnel. It sought to ensure the safety of the staff and their families and respect for the rights of the diplomats to receive guests. The two sides reaffirmed their faith in the Vienna

Conventions of 1961 and 1963, committing themselves to respecting the dignity of the diplomatic personnel and inviolability of official vehicles.

The code was expected to create a new climate and make unsavoury cases things of the past. It was not destined to be that way. Not long after, Pakistan drastically pruned the staff of the Indian consulate in Karachi, as the press campaign referred to it as a nest of espionage. New Delhi paid Islamabad back in kind.

Indo-Pakistan ties are far from normal but their missions could be used as vehicles for bringing about improvements. If the diplomatic channels get clogged, efforts at other levels to establish reasonably smooth working relationship would be doomed to failure.

First Ambassador to South Africa Appointed

94AS0229L Bombay *THE TIMES OF INDIA* in English 10 Feb 94 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, February 9—India is appointing a senior diplomat, Mr Madhav Mangalmurti, presently ambassador to Switzerland, as the first ambassador to South Africa.

The Indian diplomatic mission in South Africa is being set up well ahead of the first free elections in the country slated for April.

The pace of mutual co-operation between the two countries has been quickened since the signing of the historic protocol for diplomatic ties during the recent visit of the South African foreign minister, Mr R.F. Botha, to New Delhi.

In the last few months, India has not only established a direct air link with South Africa but has also set up a cultural centre in Johannesburg. Last month, the minister of state for external affairs, Mr Salman Khursheed, paid an official visit to South Africa and met leaders of all the major political parties there.

European Union Leaders Briefed on Kashmir

94AS0229M Madras *THE HINDU* in English 10 Feb 94 p 1

[Article by Thomas Abraham: "Dinesh Briefs European Union Leaders"]

[Text] Brussels, Feb. 9—The External Affairs Minister, Mr. Dinesh Singh, made a forceful presentation of India's perceptions on the causes for the problems in Kashmir at his meeting with the troika of European Union Ministers here on Tuesday night and was in turn told that the E.U. had been telling Pakistan not to support terrorism.

"I told them that if Pakistan stops supporting terrorism, then we could hold elections and the people of Jammu

and Kashmir would be able to form their own Government," he said in an interview to *THE HINDU* after the meeting.

"I explained that Pakistan does not raise the issue of human rights in international fora for the sake of human rights, but only wants to internationalise the issue," he said.

With the possibility of a Pakistani attempt to introduce a resolution in the Commission on Human Rights in Geneva, it was important for India to get a sympathetic hearing from the Europeans, and yesterday's meeting appears to have been an important step in this process. "I think they absorbed whatever I said, and they will keep it in mind whatever decision they take on the resolution," Mr. Dinesh Singh said.

A meeting with the Belgian Foreign Minister, Mr. Willy Claes, this morning was also cause for satisfaction. The Belgian Minister reportedly affirmed that India and Pakistan should sort out their problems bilaterally indicating that his country was against internationalising the issue.

At yesterday's meeting with the troika, Mr. Singh, who is still frail from his recent illness and finds it difficult to speak for a long time, shook off all traces of tiredness, and made a spirited defence of India's position on Kashmir. He urged the Europeans to think of the human rights of the victims of terrorist action, too.

Balanced Approach

Kashmir and human rights were bound to figure in the talks, but the Indian side drew some satisfaction from the relatively mild and balanced way in which the Europeans addressed the issues. The Greek Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, Mr. T. Pangalos, representing the Presidency of the European Union, said that Europe was concerned about what was happening in Kashmir, and stressed the need for restraint on the part of the security forces. But he balanced this by stating that Europe would continue to urge Pakistan to restrain its support for terrorism. He pointed out that no country, not even in Europe, had a perfect human rights record.

The visit to Kashmir by E.U. Ambassadors based in Delhi came in for favourable notice, but Mr. Pangalos urged greater access for non-Governmental organisations. The Minister welcomed the resumption of the dialogue at the Foreign Secretary level between India and Pakistan and urged that efforts be made to see that it continued.

India also probed the E.U. on its ideas about the expansion of the U.N. Security Council, a question which is receiving increasing attention in New Delhi. The Indian delegation was informed that there was no clear consensus within the E.U. itself on the form and content of expansion. India made it clear that it would be unhappy if expansion was restricted only to the two current

front-runners (Germany and Japan), and pointed out that it would be unwise to rush a decision on the expansion.

India Pleased

The Indian delegation has been pleased with the outcome of the meeting for several reasons. Firstly, it allowed India to get a hearing at the ministerial level in the E.U. and put forward its views on various issues. Secondly, it also provided the opportunity for a dialogue between the Foreign Secretary, Mr. K. Srinivasan, and his counterparts from the Belgian, Greek and German Foreign Ministries. They discussed a number of substantial issues including the NPT [Nonproliferation Treaty], European restrictions on sale of dual use technology, illegal immigration, terrorism and drug trafficking.

The Foreign Secretary or Political Director level talks as they are known were significant for the detail in which two related issues of importance to India, the NPT and dual use technology restrictions were discussed. As far as the NPT was concerned, the Europeans, as expected, urged India to consider signing the Treaty.

India has been worried about the E.U. making a list of countries to which the sale of sensitive dual use technology would be banned. The Indian delegation urged that the country should not be put on the list, and said that the Government was willing to certify end use of imports for civilian use.

The meeting was not expected to lead to any concrete declarations, but was only meant to carry the process of political consultation forward. It has done this and also laid the steps for further dialogue. The two sides have agreed on regular meetings at the official level on illegal immigration, terrorism, and drug trafficking, an outcome India is pleased with.

The first real results of the meeting will, however, be felt only in the weeks and months ahead, as Europe takes positions on the Pakistani resolution on Kashmir in Geneva and similar issues.

Red Cross Given Permission To Visit Kashmir

94AS0229H Madras THE HINDU in English 11 Feb 94
p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 10—For the first time, India has given a firm schedule to the International Commission of the Red Cross (ICRC) to go to Jammu and Kashmir. Its survey team could visit the State, the ICRC has been told, anytime after March 20, while any one from its side could go there for preliminary purposes right now.

As a matter of fact, the Indian authorities offered to arrange an immediate visit to Kashmir by the ICRC representative, Mr. Jean Mich Elli Monod, who was here

this week for a workshop in Hyderabad. Mr. Monod, however, wanted to go back to the headquarters in Geneva for consultations.

India also suggested that the Hyderabad workshop, in which Mr. Monod and other representatives of the ICRC and the commanders of the paramilitary forces took part, could be made an on-going process. During the discussions the ICRC representatives explained the norms that needed to be followed in regard to the treatment of detenus and related matters while the Indian side detailed the practices observed by the paramilitary forces.

India's decision to give immediate access to the ICRC to Jammu and Kashmir is the culmination of a process that began more than a year ago, with its request for permission to send a survey team to the State. However, a decision was delayed as the exchange of views between the two sides got prolonged. During this period, representatives of the Amnesty International visited India.

The present relaxation is to be seen in the context of the discussions that began early in 1993.

At another level, India of late stepped up its diplomatic contacts to meet an immediate situation, created by Pakistan's move for a resolution at the U.N. Human Rights Commission at Geneva. The diplomats from some 45 out of the 53 member-countries of the U.N. Commission were briefed last month by the then Foreign Secretary, Mr. J.N. Dixit. They also met the Home Secretary, Mr. N.N. Vohra, in two batches. The detailed accounts of the havoc wrought by the terrorists in Jammu and Kashmir and their links with the outfits in the Pakistan-occupied part of the State were supplemented with video presentations. This was besides the visits of the Civil Aviation Minister, Mr. Ghulam Nabi Azad, and the Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. R.L. Bhatia, to the Muslim countries to put the record straight on Kashmir-related issues. The other Minister of State for External Affairs, Mr. Salman Khursheed, is due to brief the Delhi-based envoys next week.

Significant move: In a significant move, India has invited the member-nations of the U.N. Commission, including the Muslim countries, to send their envoys to Jammu and Kashmir.

Mr. A.B. Vajpayee, Leader of the Opposition in the Lok Sabha, who, along with the Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, had gone to Geneva earlier this month, will undertake another trip there this weekend, while Mr. Khursheed will join him later. They will be there at the time of the possible Pakistani action to move a resolution on alleged human rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir.

The text of the draft resolution, circulated by Pakistan, is as follows: "The Commission on Human Rights: Recognising the need for the universal promotion and protection of fundamental human rights as defined in the

Universal Declaration of Human Rights and other instruments, covenants and declarations on human rights.

Noting the persistent and well-documented reports of massive human rights violations in Jammu and Kashmir, (1) Reaffirms the fundamental human rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir; (2) Expresses grave concern at the gross and consistent violations of the human rights of the people of Jammu and Kashmir; (3) Decides to send a fact-finding mission to Jammu and Kashmir to investigate and report on the human rights situation there to the 49th Session of the U.N. General Assembly; (4) Decides to consider the situation of human rights in Jammu and Kashmir at its 51st Session."

Stand on Kashmir Fact-Finding Mission Told

94AS02290 Madras *THE HINDU* in English 8 Feb 94 p 1

[Article by K.K. Katyal]

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 7—Any move of the type, contemplated by Pakistan at the U.N. Human Rights Commission, for the despatch of a fact-finding commission to Jammu and Kashmir would be totally unacceptable to India, a senior External Affairs Ministry official said today.

India had launched a major diplomatic operation to counter Pakistan's plan and, as such, there could have been no ambiguity about New Delhi's stand. But a categorical statement was considered necessary to reinforce the argument about the futility of such a move.

At this stage, a clear picture of the measure of support—or opposition—to Pakistan's move is not available. But there are two significant indications—Russia will oppose the resolution and China will remain neutral.

The points made by the official were known, too, but a reiteration was intended to convey a message, loud and clear. The draft resolution, circulated by the Pakistan Government among some diplomats in Islamabad, contained its version of the situation in Jammu and Kashmir, with an overdrawn picture of excesses by the security forces and alleged repressive measures by the State administration, and called for a visit there of a fact-finding mission. This was also the purport of the resolution Islamabad wanted to move at the U.N., (but was not pressed in the absence of assurances of adequate support).

India, according to the official, was opposed to the proposed Pakistani move because of its dubious character. There was nothing to be investigated, he said, as Jammu and Kashmir was not a closed State, and a large number of visitors, including tourists, jurists and media personnel, had been there. The Government would be prepared, according to him, to discuss the plan for visit

to the State by any group provided its purpose is transparent and objective honourable.

The draft resolution, in his view, had a political purpose (behind the cloak of human rights)—to maximise the advantage gained by Pakistan through its instigation and support of terrorist violence in the Kashmir Valley. "We oppose the resolution in letter and spirit," he said. The resolution was seen as marking a deviation from the Shimla Agreement, that committed the two sides to a bilateral approach, and running counter to the process, that had begun with the resumption of the Foreign Secretary-level dialogue. India, he stressed, was for continuing negotiations as was evident from its action in submitting six proposals to Pakistan for a smooth working relationship.

Pakistan had embarked upon a major diplomatic drive to secure support for its move. It had sent formal notes, held extensive briefing sessions, despatched special envoys to various capitals. It had sought to make full use of the sensitivities of the industrialised countries on the human rights issue.

Arjun Singh Opposing GATT signing

94AS0247D New Delhi *JANSATTA* in Hindi 1 Apr 94 p 1

[Article by Kumar Ananda: "Arjun Singh's Opposition to GATT is beginning to be Apparent"]

[Text] New Delhi, 31 March. Human Resources Minister Arjun Singh is not satisfied with his own government over the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT). He wrote a letter to Commerce Minister Pranab Mukherji about a week ago. He expressed his concerns over GATT in this letter. This letter was not circulated. However, he was not ready to respond to the opposition's allegations although he was the chairman of the cabinet sub-committee on GATT. Yesterday, Janata Dal's Nitish Kumar took a shot at him for his failure to speak on behalf of the government. It is believed that there is very little possibility of this issue being discussed in the 4 April Congress Working Committee meeting.

According to some sources, Parliamentary Affairs Minister Vidyacharan Shukla wrote a letter to some senior cabinet members asking them to give a time and date to present the government's side on GATT. Arjun Singh did not think it necessary to respond to this letter. Secondly, he was in the Lok Sabha for a long time during the first day of discussion on 29th March. However, he was missing the next day. Since the Congress Party had not issued a whip on this debate, there is not basis for a disciplinary action against Arjun Singh. Also, he was asked to speak for the government, but was not ordered to do so.

Those close to Arjun Singh call it their leader's opposition on principle. They argue that half of the Congress legislators were not present during the debate. They consider their absence as a disagreement with GATT and

agreement with Arjun Singh. As for the letter written to Pranab Mukherji, Arjun Singh had supported making the government's stand transparent on GATT. This letter also mentioned the decision of the cabinet sub-committee. The sub-committee had talked with the representatives from different areas including trade and business about their reactions to GATT. It suggested having detailed discussion on various proposals included in GATT. Arjun Singh had asked in this letter to invite opposition leaders and discuss this with them. Arjun Singh says that efforts should be made to get the political parties and the nation in confidence on this issue. However, despite repeated requests, the government did have detailed discussions on it in the Parliament.

These lines written by Arjun Singh can be seen as a part of the incident related to George Fernandes, the leader of anti-GATT group. Fernandes had a long talk with Arjun Singh on 14 February expressing his concerns over GATT. In this talk held at Arjun Singh's residence, George Fernandes had informed him of all the dangers. According to George Fernandes, Arjun Singh had not said any thing, but his expression showed agreement with him. Fernandes suggested that the effect of this conversation did not allow his conscience to defend the government.

The issue of one-person-one-position and Arjun Singh writing several letters to the Party President Narasimha Rao over the Ayodhya and the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] issues are considered his challenging for leadership. However, the vidhan sabha elections in the six states stopped this exchange of letters. Now the opposition appears to be united in opposition to GATT as it never was during the Rao administration. The BJP and the non-BJP parties had divided over the Ayodhya issue. However, the whole opposition has risen against the government over the GATT issue. Perhaps, that is why Arjun Singh is encouraged. However, the Rao camp does not appear to be in a mood to give much attention to his letter. Mr. Rao's supporters say that a person who is in the government and is playing the role of opposition cannot be taken seriously. If Arjun Singh had such strong feelings then he should have first resigned from the cabinet.

Secondly, there is a danger in the way Arjun Singh had put a question mark on Narasimha Rao's leadership by writing letters repeatedly over the Ayodhya issue. The whole opposition is accusing the government of selling the country and mortgaging the nation's sovereignty. The government and the ruling party want to counter the opposition's propaganda by holding rallies, meetings, and debates. However, when a senior leader of the government and ruling party makes his fears public over the GATT issue, the opposition definitely will gain strength. How much support will Arjun Singh get within the Congress Party? This is a matter for conjecture.

Manmohan Addresses Human Rights Commission

94AS0229R Madras THE HINDU in English 4 Feb 94
p 1

[Article by Thomas Abraham: "Come to the Table, Islamabad Told Again"]

[Text] Geneva, Feb. 3—The Finance Minister, Dr. Manmohan Singh, addressing the U.N. Commission on Human Rights today, called on the world community to wake up to the dangers posed by terrorism, and asked for its understanding of the problems that India faced from terrorism.

At a press conference later, Dr. Singh, renewed the Government's call to Pakistan for a dialogue on Kashmir, stating that this was the "only course open" to restore peace.

At the Commission's conference, he declared: "As we see it, our struggle against terrorism is part of a worldwide struggle to promote the rule of law as against the rule of the gun." He appealed to the world for "sympathy, understanding and support in our struggle against terrorism," and warned that the "world community must wake up before it is too late.

Speaking two days after the Pakistani Prime Minister, Ms. Benazir Bhutto's attack on the Indian policy on Kashmir, Dr. Singh focussed on the impact that Pakistani aid to Kashmiri separatism was having on India. "It is terrorism of unparalleled ferocity that we have been seeing in some parts of India. The sponsorship of terrorist violence from abroad, in blatant pursuit of territorial gains, seeks to destroy our secular, democratic, pluralistic civil order. The goal has been pursued with ruthlessness at the cost of thousands of lives...the misery inflicted by terrorists on peaceful citizens should be obvious from the fact that nearly 30,000 Indian citizens, both Hindu and Muslim, have had to flee their homes to other parts of India and have become refugees in their own homeland."

Admits losses of security forces: Significantly, Dr. Singh acknowledged lapses on the part of the security forces. "It is not the claim of the Government of India, indeed no country and no Government can make such a claim, that no human rights violations ever occur in our territory. We are conscious that some aberrations on the part of the law-enforcing authorities can and do take place particularly in confronting terrorism. We have no desire to put these aberrations under the carpet. We do, however, claim that we have an unswerving commitment to human rights and that we have in our legal system an effective remedial framework, as well as a strong tradition of punishing human rights violations wherever they are found to occur."

Red Cross may be allowed: He also announced a further relaxation of the Government's earlier position of not letting foreign observers and human rights organisations

into Jammu and Kashmir. The International Commission of Jurists has been the first international organisation to receive permission to go to Kashmir, and the International Committee of the Red Cross might be the next allowed in. Modalities of visits by the Red Cross were being discussed.

Dr. Singh only made a brief reference to Ms. Bhutto's speech, when he said, "It is most unfortunate that the distinguished Prime Minister of Pakistan, for whom we have great respect and regard, has used this forum to convey a wholly erroneous view of the state of affairs in the Indian State of Jammu and Kashmir...it is our sincere hope that this forum will not be used to politicise the human rights issues."

At the press conference, Dr. Singh, firmly ruled out the Pakistani suggestion for an independent team of outside investigators to look into whether Pakistan was sponsoring terrorism. "This is not something that requires proof. There are any number of reports, including from the U.S. Congress that documents this," he said.

Contempt Notices Issued to Advani, Others

94AS0229T Bombay THE TIMES OF INDIA
in English 5 Feb 94 p 1

[Text] New Delhi, February 4—The supreme court today issued contempt notices to the eight top-ranking leaders of the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] and its like-minded Hindu organisations for their alleged involvement in the demolition of the Babri mosque over a year ago despite the court's order to protect the disputed structure at Ayodhya.

Taking cognisance of the petition filed by Mr Mohammad Aslam alias Bhure seeking contempt of court action against the BJP leaders, including Mr L.K. Advani and others, the chief justice, Mr Justice M.N. Venkatachaliah, and Mr Justice S. Mohan, granted three weeks to the alleged contemnors to show cause why [they] should not be hauled up for violating its orders passed on November 15, 1991.

In a brief order, the court directed that notices be issued to the BJP president, Mr Advani, the former president, Dr Murli Manohar Joshi, the BJP MP [member of Parliament], Ms Uma Bharati, the Bajrang Dal chief and MP, Mr Vinay Katiyar, the Shiv Sena MP, Mr Moreshwar Save, the VHP [Vishwa Hindu Parishad] general secretary, Mr Ashok Singhal, the joint general secretary, Acharya Giriraj Kishore, and the organisation's fire-brand, Sadhvi Rithambra.

Already, the then chief minister of Uttar Pradesh Mr Kalyan Singh, his close aides, including the then district magistrate and police chief of Ayodhya, had been summoned before the apex court and were facing contempt of court proceedings. These proceedings related to the violation of the court's order against construction of the

concrete platform at the state of the disputed structure and also for their inaction in protecting the mosque later in December.

As an aftermath of the demolition, riots engulfed the country, leaving behind several killed and property worth crores destroyed.

Mr Aslam's counsel, Mr M.M. Kashyap, had submitted that on a call given by the VHP, the Bajrang Dal, the RSS [Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh] and the BJP in November, kar sewaks had started converging at the disputed structure site for the sole purpose to construct the Ram temple there. He had expressed the apprehension and sought the court's protection for the over four-century-old mosque.

However, on December 6, two years ago, these kar sewaks from 20 states, who had been trained earlier in the demolition task at a camp in the outskirts of Ahmadabad, "jumped on the Babri mosque" and demolished it amid provocative speeches made by the pro-temple leaders. The then president of the BJP, Dr Joshi, or Mr Advani did not stop the kar sewaks, the petitioner said.

During their "rath yatra," Dr Joshi and Mr Advani had mobilised the kar sewaks to execute the "task plan of demolishing the mosque," Mr Advani had also made inflammatory speeches during the "rath yatra."

Arjun Singh Said Continuing Self-Promotion Campaign

94AS0247C Bombay NAVBHARAT TIMES in Hindi
1 Apr 94 p 6

[Article by Alok Mehta: "Arjun Singh's Disapproval of Prime Minister Rao Continues"; all quotations marks as published]

[Text] New Delhi, 31 March. Despite attaining a clear majority in the Lok Sabha and having a marginal victory in the vidhan sabha elections, central minister Arjun Singh's rebel attitude against Prime Minister Narasimha Rao's policies and leadership has not changed. The latest proof of this attitude is Mr. Singh's opposition to the government policies related to GATT and refusing to speak in the defense of the government on this subject in the Parliament.

After the division of the Janata Dal and the results of the Lok Sabha elections, Mr. Rao's supporters have been saying for the last 3-4 months that Mr. Arjun Singh had met with Mr. Rao and yielded to him politically. Mr. Singh's group getting an important victory in Madhya Pradesh and agreement of the two leaders over several public programs are also being considered as good signs. However, Mr. Singh has once again given the impression of his going in an opposing direction to the Congress Party now that the Narasimha Rao government is once again on trial like in 1992. Interestingly, the leadership of the five-member cabinet sub-committee formed according to the prime minister's wishes to respond to

the political attacks on GATT by the opposition was given to Arjun Singh. However, instead of protecting it, he "drove a nail in the bosom of the strong government." In addition to Mr. Singh, Finance Minister Dr. Manmohan Singh, Commerce Minister Pranab Mukherji, Agriculture Minister Balram Jakhad, and Science Minister Ramlakahn Singh Yadav are members of this sub-committee.

Mr. Singh started to touch on the sensitive issues related to the GATT agreement in the first two meetings of the sub-committee and created new problems for Dr. Manmohan Singh and Pranab Mukherji. Mr. Singh showed his agreement with the views of the opposition and expressed the fear that by signing the new GATT agreement we were mortgaging our freedom. "This decision is like inviting the East India Company again," he said. We cannot play the role of the last ruler before the British empire began. Pranab Mukherji and Dr. Manmohan Singh tried to explain each issue and said that the government has not ignored India's interests. Every step is being taken very carefully. However, Mr. Singh was not satisfied. As the result of this, the other four ministers started to hold separate discussions.

During that time, on the prime minister's advice, Parliamentary Minister Vidyacharan Shukla, while acting as the leader of the Congress Parliamentary group, asked Arjun Singh, Pranab Mukherji, Dr. Manmohan Singh, and Balram Jakhad to write a letter in defense of GATT. The remaining three ministers kept the order of the party leadership in mind and tried their best to defend the government's stand. However, Mr. Singh sent an oral message saying that he was not ready to defend the government on this subject. The political circles consider this action of ignoring the responsibilities as a member of the central cabinet and disregarding party leadership's directive very significant.

Arjun Singh's supporters claim that Mr. Singh took this step after a lot of thought. In December 1992, Mr. Singh had expressed open disagreement with the central cabinet's policies before the disputed structure was torn down and had left for Ayodhya. Now, by staying out of the GATT agreement, Mr. Singh can determine a new political equation.

Minister Rules Out Privatization of Doordarshan

94AS0235H Madras *THE HINDU* in English 8 Mar 94 p 15

[Article: "Privatisation of Doordarshan Channels Ruled Out"]

[Text] New Delhi, March 7. The Information and Broadcasting Minister, Mr. K.P. Singh Deo, today ruled out privatisation of any channel on Doordarshan.

Replying to supplementaries during question hour, he said the issue involved was selling television time to private parties. "There is no question of privatisation of any channel."

Several members expressed concern over the "cultural invasion" that was taking place in the country and urged the Government to take all necessary steps to preserve, protect and enrich our cultural heritage.

The Minister said if Parliament felt it was warranted, the All India Radio and Doordarshan code could be reviewed.

The code was approved by Parliament in 1977.

While admitting that there has been a cultural invasion, he said special endeavours were being made to bring out the Indian identity on Doordarshan.

Mr. Singh Deo, however, stated that the programmes telecast on Doordarshan were not in violation of any stipulated guidelines.—PTI

Reporters Briefed on CPI National Council Meet

94AS0229G Hyderabad *DECCAN CHRONICLE* in English 13 Feb 94 p 12

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 12—The Communist Party of India (CPI), has demanded that immediate steps be taken to initiate a political process in Jammu and Kashmir so that people of the state can regain their confidence.

Briefing newsmen on the issues discussed at the National Council of the CPI which met here from February 8 to 10, the party General Secretary, Mr. Indrajit Gupta, said to start with, the government should convene an all-party meet at the national level to discuss the question of 'political freedom', and pave the way for a dialogue with the various political forces in the State.

He said the National Council also wanted the problem to be resolved within the framework of the Constitution while preserving the special status of the region under Article 370 and respecting the desire of the people to safeguard their identity.

Referring to the external pressure with regard to Kashmir, Mr Gupta said India should take all possible steps to rebuff the United States' anti-Kashmir stand. The evil designs of the United States against peace and amity in the sub-continent, must be frustrated.

Charging the government with procrastination and lacking in a clear cut policy on Kashmir, he said the Kashmir administration was not responding to the people's urges as it was treating the problem merely as a law and order one. Instead of creating a favourable condition for initiating a political process in the State, the Narasimha Rao Government was relying only on administrative measures, he said.

Mr Gupta also opined that the leaders of both the Communist Party of India (Marxist) and the CPI should "sit together and talk of the possibilities of a merger." These two parties, he said, had a special relationship

which had to be developed, although there were differences on some questions. The two should also seriously consider the question of the unity of mass organisations like the trade unions, rural organisations and students' organisations.

"Both of us together can and should give a new turn to the nation's politics," he said, adding that the Left parties have planned an intensive nation-wide campaign in February and March and also a march to the Parliament on April 5 to protest against the economic policies of the Rao government.

BJP Seen Ready To Give Janata Dal Tough Fight In Bihar

94AS0245B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 31 Mar 94
p 4

[Article by Chandra Bhushan: "The Bihari Babu Against Lalu"]

[Text] The Bihar Vidhan Sabha election scheduled for January next year is expected to be interesting. Not only because Chief Minister Lalu Prasad Yadav will go through a real test of fire, but also because of the rumors floating around that the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party] will run film star and BJP member Shatrughna Sinha for the position of chief minister.

If true, the next election definitely will be very interesting. The central BJP leadership has belatedly learned the fact that the popularity of a Bihari Babu can be cashed in on only in Bihar. He was embarrassed when he ran against Rajesh Khanna for the New Delhi Lok Sabha seat.

Despite numerous efforts by Tarakant Jha and the present state party president, Kailashpati Misra, the BJP could not achieve the position in that state that it should have. Yes, the BJP is in good position in the southern part of the state because of businessmen and industrialists there. However, because of the activities of some extremists and the Naxalites, the political atmosphere here is not as favorable to the BJP as it was in the past. Lalu Prasad organized an tribal conference in Patna recently to take the initiative in attracting their vote bank. According to some sources, Lalu had promised the tribals all kind of support from the Janata Dal. It means that the Janata Dal can also win a good number of seats in southern Bihar this time. Thus, southern Bihar will not be easy to win for the BJP. Political observers believe that Lalu is also expected to benefit from the breach in the Jharkhand Mukti Morcha [JMM].

Most of the BJP members elected to the vidhan sabha are from southern Bihar. Meanwhile, the BJP got a major jolt when Inder Singh Namdhari, who was considered one of its strong pillars, left the party and formed a new party of his own. Later, Namdhari joined the Janata Dal. The Janata Dal made a crack in a BJP known for its

unity. However, one of its candidates did win the election for a Rajya Sabha seat. This is a good omen, but cannot be called a solid base.

Major efforts were made to strengthen the BJP in this state last year. The right atmosphere was created by the rathayatra [procession]. Murli Manohar Joshi, Kalyan Singh, and other major leaders had attracted huge crowds and made speeches to get support for the BJP. It is noteworthy that huge crowds had attended these meetings. It seemed at that time that the BJP would succeed in forming the government in Bihar. However, Bihar, notorious for caste-related politics, has taken the wind out of the BJP sail here. Although Tarakant Jha was replaced with Kailashpati Misra as president of the state BJP, the BJP still could not get additional support in Bihar.

Now that the politics here are being made more caste-based by calling for rallies of various caste groups, what will the BJP do? Is it finding itself helpless or is it planning a new strategy? While reviewing answers to such questions, it was learned that movie star Shatrughna Sinha would be especially useful in Bihar. That is why when the question of appointing a new member to the BJP working committee came up, Lal Krishna Advani's favorite man Yashwant Sinha, who had deserted the Samajwadi Janata Party and joined the BJP, was considered to be the front runner. However, Murli Manohar Joshi insisted on appointing Sinha to this position. Sinha thus was given an honorable position in the party by making him a member of the working committee. It can be easily assumed that he will be asked to play a major role in Bihar's politics. The BJP knows that if there is anyone who can make the party strong in this state then it is Shatrughna Sinha.

There are solid reasons behind this line of thought. The first reason is that only Sinha can counter the popularity that Lalu Prasad has gained in this state. He is popular in the whole state. That fact that his popularity is mostly because of his movie star glamour rather than of his political involvement is a separate issue. The truth is that Shatrughna Sinha is a heavy weight compared to Lalu Prasad when it comes to attracting crowds. Second, the caste issue is so prevalent in the state that the next government should be that of the Janata Dal. Lalu's image is mostly that of a Dalit leader. Sinha has established himself among all the caste and religious groups as a movie star. If the BJP announced that Shatrughna Sinha will be the chief minister in a BJP government, the BJP would definitely win the next election.

If the BJP gives more publicity to Kailashpati Misra or Tarakant Jha, it will suffer on two fronts. First, both are Brahmins and it will not take much time to establish a negative environment for them in this caste-oriented state. Second, neither of these leaders have access to the rural population of the state. Well-educated persons also do not know them very well. The same is not true of Sinha. Although the Biharis' craze for him is related to

movies, the people are aware of his political savvy from some of his public meetings.

Anyhow, Shatrughna Sinha is seeing a green flag from the BJP high command and has decided to join Bihar politics. In a recent public meeting in Buxar, he had said that the caste-related mentality in Bihar is a way of life there, but the people have also learned that the reason for their backwardness is the caste system. At the same time, Sinha encouraged regional politics by asking the people to say "we are Biharis" in the same tune as they say "we are Indians." This makes it possible that the people will be attracted to him.

Confusion Seen Surrounding Madhya Pradesh Administration

94AS0237A New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 17 Mar 94
pp 5-6

[Article by Mahesh Pande: "Helter-Skelter Surrounds the Busy Digvijay These Days"; all quotation marks as published]

[Text] Bhopal, 16 March. The first 100 days of Chief Minister Digvijay Singh, who had filled Madhya Pradesh with his promises and declarations, are not enough to evaluate his effectiveness. However, it appears that the chief minister who rides on the shoulders of the masses is busy, but everything around him is in a mess. He had the image of a macho chief minister when he arrived in this state. Even after innumerable efforts, they have failed to change his image to that of the sole leader of the state. Instead, Digvijay Singh has the image of a servant in this state of three super chief ministers—Arjun Singh, Kamal Nath, and Madhavrao Scindia.

Digvijay Singh was the candidate from the Arjun Singh camp last December when the leader of the Congress legislative group was elected. In the power struggle between the Arjun Singh and Shukla groups that climaxed at the polling booth, Digvijay Singh defeated Shyamacharan Shukla and became the chief minister from the Arjun Singh camp and from the Arjun Singh political family. However, during the first 100 days, the roles of the main characters in the state political drama have changed. The most interesting and shrewd scene is that in which the chief minister is in the Arjun Singh camp as are his most eloquent detractors.

The political wild game hunt of these two Thakurs [warrior caste] has not only thrown the remaining factions of the Congress Party in the background, but also has put a question mark on their political existence. The names of followers of Madhavrao Scindia and Ram Charan Shukla can be counted in the latest episode.

Digvijay Singh is a 'Macho chief minister' because throngs of people surround him seeking his help until 2:00 am. He puts one hand on one person's shoulder, listens to a second person, respond to a third person, and smiles at the fourth person. Members of the Congress Party arrive from all over the state. They have submitted

more than 50,000 requests for transfers and new jobs and have made Digvijay Singh feel that he is the super leader sitting at the peak of his popularity. It is surprising that Digvijay Singh is using this crowd as a standard to measure his popularity. This style can work for the state Congress president, however, it does not work for someone in the role of [state] Congress president and chief minister. Digvijay Singh has been mostly the state Congress president during his first 100 days. Perhaps, during the next few months he will emerge as the real chief minister.

Amidst all kinds of assumptions, Digvijay Singh is trying to manoeuvre maintaining a balance between Arjun Singh and Kamal Nath. He does not want to defy or anger either of these leaders. In this game of keeping balance, Digvijay Singh appears to be alternately leaning towards the camp that puts more pressure on him at a given time.

Still, the change that is visible is Digvijay Singh's efforts to stay away from Arjun Singh, the human resources minister at the Center.

Only time will tell how many leaders in his own camp and from other groups will support Digvijay Singh. If we review the visits by state Congress leaders, especially Central Human Resources Minister Arjun Singh and Central Forests and Environment Minister Kamalnath, then we can see the increasing warmth between Kamalnath and Digvijay Singh. Digvijay Singh has publicly declared that Kamalnath played an important role in his election to the chief minister's position. He has not given a similar statement about Arjun Singh. The relationship between Arjun Singh and Digvijay Singh has been seen to be both hot and cold. These state leaders occupying central government positions have only strengthened their power bases instead of empowering the chief minister. Their agenda, speeches, and methods have divided the Congress workers. They are also creating doubts. Five Congress (I) power bases in the state, with varying degrees of influence, are present. These power groups are led by Arjun Singh, Kamal Nath, V.C. Shukla, Madhavrao Scindia, and Shyamacharan Shukla.

As for the Shukla brothers, the state government will not try to openly oppose V.C. Shukla because of his position. However, central Water Resources Minister V.C. Shukla is quiet. The former Chief Minister Shyamacharan Shukla is waiting for an opportunity.

The group that is baffled most is that of Arjun Singh's supporters inside and outside of the government. They had considered Digvijay Singh a foot soldier in Arjun Singh's camp at one time. One cabinet member who had gone to see Arjun Singh off at the airport on 14 March after his visit to Moni Baba [holy man] said, "How long will he be able to run the government without the support of King Arjun Singh?" This is the most complicated issue in the state politics now. Madhya Pradesh is the umbilical cord from which Arjun Singh acquires strength just like some mythological characters. The

supporters of Arjun Singh cannot stop expressing their feelings seeing the decline in his prominence in that state for the first time. Important leaders believe that a power struggle is going on between Arjun Singh and Digvijay Singh. If we look closely, Arjun Singh, Digvijay Singh, and Kamal Nath have basically the same views, but are telling different things to the prime minister and the party president.

Another major change has been noticed in Arjun Singh's supporters. They appear to have fully submitted to the prime minister. It could be that this change was forced on them. He is the same person who used to mentioned the prime minister as a villain during the Surajkund conference. He drools when showing respect for him now.

It should be remembered that in addition to these challenges from within the Congress (I) Party, there is the challenge of the Bharatiya Janata Party [BJP]. The first Vidhan Sabha election held after Digvijay Singh became the chief minister was for the Satna seat. The election for this seat was held later because of an Election Commission order. The chief minister was so impressed with his own proclamations that he announced before the voting that, "the people will give me their mandate in Satna." The opposite happened; the BJP won. The second major challenge is the Rajgarh Lok Sabha seat. The atmosphere is now getting heated up after the march of former Chief Minister Sunderlal Patwa and responding march by the chief minister's brother Lakshman Singh.

The first 100 days of Digvijay Singh's rule have hurt the people more than the party according to one interpretation. Some leaders within the Congress (I) Party and the cabinet have emerged who are speaking the language of Bahujan Samaj Party's [BSP] Kanshi Ram. These attacks made from public platforms, however, were mostly because of political pressure. These attacks are made sometimes [in a bid] for the the presidency of Madhya Pradesh Congress Party, and sometimes just to undermine the chief minister of Madhya Pradesh. The effect of this on the people is such as never seen before. The fact that Chief Minister Digvijay Singh never forgets to pay homage to Kanshi Ram during this visits to Delhi is entirely another matter.

This has made the Congress members who have never practiced the politics of casteism before restless. They practiced politics keeping the state in mind. Except for a few districts, there is emphasis on castes as is in Uttar Pradesh. The BSP was active in the 1989 vidhan sabha elections, however, it could not make its presence known until the 1993 election. However, the BSP did not achieve the success that the Congress and the BJP were afraid of before the elections. The BSP leaders now have the excuse to use their party as a threat. This has led to the rise of caste sentiments in many districts, including Vindhya Pradesh, Chhattis Garh, and Bilaspur.

The chief minister of the state had started to add the issue of caste to every announcement from the beginning. He has softened now that he was accused of using the caste issue as a weapon. These accusations are still being levied. Some ministers and Congress leaders seem to be in a competition to give the most instigating speech. They target the high caste people directly or indirectly.

The latest example of is of Tanwant Singh Kir, minister of administration in Digvijay Singh's cabinet. There was a divisional conference of Ujjain division's sanitary workers on 6 March. A part of Mr. Kir's speech in that conference went like this: "The scheduled castes and the backward groups have not taken over the responsibility of cleaning and picking up trash. Now, whoever makes the mess will have to clean up. In the future, 20 percent of the jobs for sanitary workers will be reserved for high caste people. Both God and I like the sanitary workers. The high caste people, the traders, and the Brahmans just do not understand it all. All citizens have equal right for upward mobility. I will not allow any discrimination and bias against these castes."

There was a sharp reaction to Mr. Kir's speech both inside and outside of the Vidhan Sabha. The turmoil inside was so intense that Chairman Srinivas had to cancel the assembly activities and remove the verbal assaults from the proceedings. That day, former Chief Minister Kailash Joshi was seen to be upset when coming down the stairs of the Vidhan Sabha. He said, "How did he become a cabinet member? What kind of language does he use?"

It was Arjun Singh who started this new practice of providing or demanding positions based on caste in Madhya Pradesh. On the evening of 5th December, the election heat was sharp in both the election camps—Shukla's and Arjun Singh's. Digvijay Singh proposed his name with the help of Kamal Nath in Arjun Singh's camp. At that time, Arjun Singh's "dummy" candidate Subhash Yadav had to withdraw. However, when Arjun Singh stood up to speak in the legislators' meeting, Sushil Kumar Shinde, party supervisor for elections, stopped him from speaking. Arjun Singh left the meeting in anger. He issued a statement from his residence 15 minutes later. He said that the world would not have come to an end if he had had the opportunity to speak to the legislators. He wanted a Harijan or tribal to be elected to the state's leadership. All he wanted was to make an appeal. It is important to remember that in 1980 when Shivbhanu Singh Solanki (a tribal) had more votes in the Congress legislative group, Arjun Singh had become the chief minister by usurping Solanki's votes with the support of Kamal Nath. The population of tribals and Harijans in the state was the same at that time.

Later, central Human Resources Minister Arjun Singh came to Bhopal on 4 January 1994. He said that he was still firm on the opinion he had given at the time of election of the legislative leader. He wanted one of the

tribals to be elected leader. According to knowledgeable circles, Mr. Singh wanted the leader of the state Congress Party to be of the same group and from his own camp. Thus, Ajit Mukherji emerged as the choice and he went around the state giving statements asking for first being elected chief minister and later, the state party president.

Interestingly, except for some of Digvijay Singh's cabinet members, the Congress members viewed this demand differently. Most of them belonged to Arjun Singh's camp and had lost in the election. All the coalitions that were either stagnant or defunct suddenly became revitalized and there began a series of conventions. On 4th January, Arjun Singh requested Governor Mohammed Shafi Qureshi in the presence of Digvijay Singh on the platform to decide on enlarging the Baba Saheb Ambedkar National Institute of Social Sciences. The work on this institute had been discontinued since 1984 and Arjun Singh could have made work possible by giving a grant before 4th January. He had announced a grant of five million rupees for this purpose.

Another statement was issued after Digvijay Singh was elected chief minister on the advice of Arvind Netam, central minister of state for agriculture. In the statement issued on 5th January, he said that the demand to elect a chief minister from scheduled castes, tribals, or backward groups was not honored. Parasram Bhardwaj, president of the Joint Legislative Council, said from Bhilai that in addition to administrative positions, the scheduled castes and tribals have not gotten proper representation in public service programs, municipal committees, and other places.

Because of this pressure, two deputy chief ministers, Subhash Yadav and Pyare Lal Kanwar, were appointed for the first time. Subhash Yadav's speech made in the Yadav group's meeting in Indore on 26 January was also discussed. Mr. Jogi said on 1 February in the scheduled castes and tribal groups' meeting in Bhopal, "We will fight only over burning issues. We will not make any more requests, it will be the higher caste people who will do that now. Reservation of quotas is our right. We will pass this quota to 15 percent of the people. We will not tolerate those leaders who were elected with our votes any more." Mr. Jogi told the reporters after the conference that he thought just like Kanshi Ram, however, they were on different platforms. His efforts won 25 cabinet positions and two deputy chief minister positions.

It was Jamuna Devi, the minister for welfare of women, who put a stop to Ajit Jogi's statements. She said that, "Ajit Jogi who is talking about scheduled castes and tribals, should first look at himself and tell us who he is. What has he contributed to the party? Ajit Jogi's statements and actions were making the government and the chief minister unstable. Ajit Jogi appears to be a subversive politician. He started to oppose the state government with a conference in Bhopal and such action is intolerable." Jamuna Devi demanded expulsion of Ajit Jogi from Congress and action against the cabinet members who took part in that convention.

Thus continued the routine of caste-based politics. On 4th February in Bhopal's Ravinder Bhawan, a backward-classes meeting was held. They demanded in this meeting that the president of the state's Congress Party should be a backward class member, a tribal, or from a scheduled caste. In addition to that, they demanded that 50 percent of positions in the Congress organization, public programs, and municipal committees should be reserved for these groups. Rajmani Patel, the president of this organization, is a former cabinet member and belongs to Arjun Singh's camp. Similarly, Bansilal Dharitihre, another former cabinet member, has also demanded that the presidency of state's Congress Party should be given to a member of these groups. Mr. Dharitihre himself is also a candidate for this position.

The caste equation that is changing the the face of the Madhya Pradesh Congress Party does not appear to stop here. There is no opposition to it within the party, and no one has the courage to come forward to oppose it. However, a statement issued by Kamal Nath from Tikamgarh is of significance. He announced in his speech during the closing ceremonies of the Amar Singh Rathaur volleyball tournament that it does not matter whether the president of the Congress Party is from a backward group, that person must be qualified for the position, and then he added, "We do not want to make Madhya Pradesh another Uttar Pradesh."

Janata Dal-Ajit Merges With Samajwadi Party

94AS0229P Madras THE HINDU in English 8 Feb 94
p 1

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 7—The Janata Dal-Ajit [JD-A] leader, Mr. Rasheed Masood, today announced the merger of his party with the Samajwadi Party led by the Uttar Pradesh Chief Minister, Mr. Mulayam Singh Yadav. The formal decision was taken at a national convention of the JD-A held here today, which was later addressed by Mr. Mulayam Singh.

The merger at the national level is likely to have its impact on the arithmetic in the Uttar Pradesh Assembly also and indications are that a section of Janata Dal MLAs [members of Legislative Assembly] in the State will formally join the SP-BSP [Samajwadi Party-Bahujan Samaj Party] Government. Claiming that a majority of the 27 Dal MLAs were in favour of merging with the Samajwadi Party, the Uttar Pradesh JD-A secretary, Mr. Kailashnath Singh Yadav, said that a formal announcement in this regard will be made soon.

Addressing a packed audience of JD-A workers from various districts of Western Uttar Pradesh, Mr. Mulayam Singh stressed his party's role in "containing and combating" the forces of communalism led by the BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party]. Extolling the virtues of the Charan Singh, Mr. Yadav extended an open invitation to all the followers of Ram Manohar Lohia and Charan Singh to join the Samajwadi Party.

Source of strength: Even though the merger moves were anticipated for over a fortnight now, Mr. Mulayam Singh was visibly excited at the convention. Considering that the Samajwadi Party is relatively weak in the Western districts of Uttar Pradesh, the entry of Mr. Masood into the fold is indeed a great source of strength for the party, said his close associate.

Describing that the JD-A decision to merge with the SP as one conditioned by the "ground realities in Uttar Pradesh" where the SP had emerged "as the centre of anti-communal forces," Mr. Masood claimed that the entire rank and file of the Janata Dal-A were with him.

Referring to the possibility of JD MLAs joining the SP, Mr. Masood appeared confident of a majority falling in line. However, he added that for strategic reasons of not exposing the 27 strong State legislature party to a split, the MLAs were kept away from today's convention. Contesting Mr. Ajit Singh's claims that majority of the legislature party was with him to join the Congress(I), the Masood camp claimed all but five MLAs out of 27 were inclined to join the Mulayam Singh Government.

Fellow MP [member of Parliament], Mr. Upendranath Verma submitted a note of dissent on the "timing of the merger." Though Mr. Masood claimed that the merger decision had the approval of Mr. Verma and the third JD-A MP, Mr. Ram Sunder Das, both of them were conspicuous by their absence at the convention.

Janata Dal Still Fracturing, Mulayam Singh Gaining

94AS0245D New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 30 Mar 94 p 4

[Editorial: "Fracturing Janata Dal"]

[Text] It is natural for the Janata Dal leaders to be upset and angry at the way Mulayam Singh has moved 10 Janata Dal legislators who supported his government into his party. This anger is reflected in the resolution sent by the U.P. [Uttar Pradesh] unit of the Janata Dal to the party's national president Bommai. It asked permission for the state unit of the party to take back the endorsement it had given to the Mulayam Singh government. However, a decision on this resolution is not expected soon because of the uncertainties and problems within the Janta Dal. One reason is that the disintegration of the Janta Dal has just begun, and even the party leaders do now know how many legislators will be left within the party in the end. They expressed fear that some of the remaining 17 Janata Dal legislator might join Mulayam Singh Yadav's Samajwadi Party. Another half dozen legislators are expected to follow Ajit Singh into the Congress Party. They were waiting until now because the one-third number required to avoid breaking the party-deserting law was not available. Now, in the shrunken Janata Dal, their number will be about one-third of the party. The other obstruction Janata Dal leaders' making a final decision about Mulayam Singh Yadav government is that even V.P. Singh himself is

said to be in support of making Mulayam Singh stronger. Some other members believe that the 10 legislators who deserted the Janta Dal had his blessings.

The disintegration of the Janata Dal is believed to be a foregone conclusion. The legislators who have joined Mulayam Singh were believed to be ready to go there from the very beginning. It was Mulayam Singh who was waiting for the right time for this division to occur. One reason for this wait was he did not want to help the legislators who were waiting to form one-third [of legislators] so they could jump to the Congress party. However, seeing the attitude of the Bahujan Samaj Party and then of the Congress Party recently, he felt that his government was in a precarious situation and he could be forced to have new elections any time. Mulayam Singh, on getting this feeling, started to strengthen his position among the Samajwadis, Yadavs, and Muslims. To this end, the first division was created in the Communist Party of India followed by the division in the Janata Dal. The leaders frustrated with Mulayam Singh's strategy have accused him of trying to steal some Bahujan Samaj Party and Congress Party legislators also. However, this is neither possible nor practical. First, because it will not be possible for him to convince one-third of the legislators to defect. Second, Mulayam Singh's government cannot survive even one day by making either the Bahujan Samaj Party or the Congress Party angry.

BSP Seen Causing Mulayam Singh Government Headaches

94AS0237B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 12 Mar 94 pp 1,7

[Article by Hemant Sharma: "The U.P. Government's Future is in Question due to the Split Between SP-BSP"]

[Text] Lucknow, 11 March. The Bahujan Samaj Party (BSP) and the Samajwadi Party (SP) in Uttar Pradesh [U.P.] are drifting apart. The BSP leaders are openly criticizing the state government and their relationship is turning sour. The fate of the government could be in jeopardy because of the difference between the political cultures of the two parties.

The increasing bitterness between the SP and BSP ministers and legislators is evident in the U.P. Vidhan Sabha. The problems of the three-months-old government have increased because of the tension between BSP leaders Kanshi Ram and SP leader Mulayam Singh Yadav. Every few minutes, either Kanshi Ram or Mayavati is taking the government to task. Chief Minister Mulayam Singh, contrary to his nature, is forced to accept these insults quietly.

Kanshi Ram's threat that he "will not hesitate in dismissing this government if it does not work according to [his] conditions," has angered the SP leadership. The fact is that the main problem for the SP-BSP coalition has been that there never was any atmosphere of cooperation among the SP and BSP ministers and legislators,

although the leaders of the two parties may have had some understanding. The statement issued by Mayavati, the BSP general secretary, proves this. Even SP leaders believe that Kanshi Ram's saying that the ministers from his party are treated like peons and Mayavati's argument that their legislators are not listened to are not considered to be sentiments that will go away. Kanshi Ram had aggravated this tension between the parties by telling his legislators and workers to agitate against the officials and ministers who do not listen to them. He told them to make public statements to this effect and bring the issue to the people.

This tension between the two parties has made the government look pitiable in the Vidhan Sabha and the Vidhan Parishad. On 1 March, when Balram Yadav, a SP cabinet member, announced in the Vidhan Sabha that there was plenty of sugar and kerosene oil available in the state and that their prices were under control, it was Rajbali Yadav, a BSP member, and not the opposition, that screamed, "The minister is lying. Kerosene oil is being sold at 18 rupees a liter in the state."

This attitude of the BSP legislators and cabinet members is lessening the feeling of joint responsibility. On 4 March, the state education minister, Dr. Massaud Ahmed (BSP), and Shardanand Anchal, the deputy minister in his own department (SP), continued to contradict each other. Similar situations took place several times during the current session. When Babu Ram Verma (BSP) made an objectionable statement against Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant in the vidhan sabha, Chief Minister Mulayam Singh apologized immediately and insisted to the chair to remove that comment from the vidhan sabha proceedings. The BSP did not like it. The BSP leader Mayavati condemned the chief minister's action. She told the reporters, "Our legislator was correct. He was subjected to unnecessary pressure to apologize. Our legislators will not apologize in the future."

The BSP is acting like an opposition party because it is not being heard and is deprived of power despite its being in the government. To protest against the beating of its members while they were returning from Calcutta after participating in a rally there, the party legislators stopped several trains bound for West Bengal. After the caste-related confrontation in Jaunpur, the BSP took the city under its control for three days.

The BSP leaders and workers also complain that only the SP leaders have the privileges associated with being in government. A SP worker was wounded in an attack in Gonda, and he was transported to a hospital in a helicopter. However, when Ramanchal Rajbhar, a BSP legislator, was beaten by the police in Akbarpur, the government did not take any action. He was transported from Akbarpur to Lucknow in a car. He was in very serious condition.

The problem for the SP is that Mayavati of the BSP visits Lucknow every other week and, under the pretext of looking at the working of the government, makes some

statements to put the government in a difficult position. The problems of the government increase and the discipline within the party and the government is adversely affected. Mayavati made major problems for the government by spewing poison against Mahatma Gandhi. The Congress (I) has decided to make this an issue. Mulayam Singh is neither owning up to nor giving up this issue. The comments made on Mahatma Gandhi and Pant have put the whole government on trial.

Kanshi Ram and Mayavati's belligerent attitude towards Mulayam Singh started because of the daily complaints made by BSP ministers and legislators. The BSP ministers, Education Minister Dr. Massaud Ahmed, Social Welfare Minister Raj Bahadur, and Revenue Minister Vishwambhar Prasad Nishad, told their boss (Kanshi Ram) about their helplessness before the BSP-SP rally in Allahabad on 5 March. They said that they have to face a lot of embarrassment in their ministries because of their inability to do any work at government level. These ministers also raised the issue of one of their party leader's assassination in Karbi. They said that the district administration was apathetic in apprehending the criminals. They said that they had sent a written complaint to the chief minister, but he had not taken any action. Kanshi Ram became angry. He took the government to task in the very first SP-BSP rally. He said, "My ministers are treated like peons. Mr. Chief Minister, this just will not work."

Sone Lal Patel, the general secretary of the BSP, said that the government officials did not follow up on even the written orders of the BSP ministers. If pressured, they say that the chief minister had told them not to do that. If the government officials do not obey the ministers, what will happen to the common workers? A fuming Kanshi Ram said, "If Mulayam Singh has the command over the government, I have the command over Mulayam Singh. If someone does not listen to you, let me know." The warning by Kanshi Ram to uproot this government given in this rally was also the result of this anger.

The tension between the SP and the BSP is also caused by their social bases. The caste-related confrontations that took place in Kanpur and Varanasi had resulted from the differences between the SP and the BSP. In most cases, Yadavs and Kurmis were agitating against the Harijans. In such a situation, the government acts to help the party in power [SP]. This is the reason why officials do not obey and the government has become helplessness. The tensions have risen from the village and community level to enter the government.

Goals, Ideology of BSP Examined

Kanshi, Mayavati Key Players

94AS0246A Varanasi AJ in Hindi 16 Mar 94 pp 1, 7

[Text] New Delhi, 15 March. The criticism by Kanshi Ram and Mayavati of the SP-BSP [Samajwadi Party-Bahujan Samaj Party] coalition government in Uttar

Pradesh hints toward the future strategy of the BSP. The BSP does not appear to be willing to play the political game with the SP in Uttar Pradesh for long. Kanshi Ram and Mayavati appear to have already started to write an introduction to their separate political existence. However, Kanshi Ram is not ready to uproot the present U.P. government yet. He did make a public announcement to this effect. It is assumed that the BSP will continue to support the government because it has its own vested interests there along with Mulayam Singh. It is important for this party to remain in the government in order to establish a basic structure for ruling the state. Kanshi Ram is well aware of this practical fact. Kanshi Ram is already rallying popular support by his and his supporters' sharp criticism [of the government]. He will announce his separate political stand at the right time while all this is going on. He wants to stay in the government and create an atmosphere in which he can point to his criticism as a proof that he had given enough time to Mulayam Singh to improve. Mulayam Singh having failed to meet the criteria, however, he (Kanshi Ram) was forced to make this decision.

Kanshi Ram's whole political strategy is based on this kind of politics now. He is preparing for the future. Under this plan, some times he talks about evaluating Mulayam Singh's government in about six months and other times he talks about dislodging it.

During this period, Kanshi Ram wants to establish his new image. This image will portray him as not willing to compromise when the interests of the Dalits are at stake. So much so that he would not compromise even with the government in which he is a partner. Mayavati's criticism of Gandhi is the climactic point of this effort. The BSP wants to demonstrate that it does not think much of Gandhi as compared to Ambedkar.

The BSP has assumed that if it succeeds in keeping the sword of its politics sharp, it will be able to establish its government in Uttar Pradesh by itself whenever the next vidhan sabha elections are held. Kanshi Ram and his supporters are working based on this assumption. Keeping this in mind, he is more or less acting like the opposition leader even though he is in the government.

Kanshi Ram has another target. He is hoping that if the Congress Party, which has supported the state government, is forced to take back its support because of the BSP criticism, then it would prove to be politically beneficial to the BSP. However, the Congress Party has also started its preparations perceiving the imminent political changes. It has started a regular campaign against the BSP so that it does not face problems in the future.

Excludes Legacy of Gandhi

94AS0246B New Delhi JANSATTA in Hindi 31 Mar 94
p 1

[Article by P. Venugopal: "Kanshi Ram is a Step Ahead of Mayavati"; all quotation marks as published]

[Text] Kochi, 30 March. Kanshi Ram, the BSP president, has supported party General Secretary Mayavati's criticism of Mahatma Gandhi. He has went one step ahead and accused the Father of the Nation of not being the benefactor of the untouchables, and being a supporter of a "very shrewd caste system." During his interview with The JANSATTA on Wednesday, he also accused Gandhi of being against scheduled caste leaders' entering temples.

The BSP president said, "Mr. Gandhi did not permit E.V. Ramaswami Nayaker, then president of Tamilnadu Congress, to participate in the Vaikome satyagraha. This forced E.V. Ramaswami to resign from his position as the president and leave the Congress Party." To show Gandhi's archaic beliefs about untouchables, Kanshi Ram referred to Gandhi's talk with a Namboodri Brahman of Vaikome temple as written by Mahadev Desai. This talk was related to untouchables passing through the temple. This talks went like this:

[Mr. Gandhi] Is it appropriate to deprive a whole group of Hindus of using a public path just because they were born in a lower caste, especially when this path is used by non-Hindus also?"

[Trustee] How can we help them? They are suffering the consequence of their Karma.

[Mr. Gandhi] There is no doubt about it. They are suffering the result of their Karma by being born as untouchables. However, why are you increasing their punishment?

Kanshi Ram, referring widely to Mr. Gandhi's articles said that Mr. Gandhi wanted to maintain a shrewd caste system. He especially brought to our attention the following except from Mr. Gandhi's comment in the 6 March 1937 issue of The HARIJAN.

"Every person should follow his forefathers' occupation under the caste system. A person born in the family of a Bhangi [sanitary worker] should earn his living as a Bhangi. He can't do anything else...that is what I believe to be Hindu religion."

Kanshi Ram said that Mr. Gandhi had insulted the untouchables by calling them Harijans [God's people]. "There is no respect for the word Harijan now. Will Narasimha Rao like it if we call him a Harijan?" He asked. He said that after Mayavati's controversial statements about Mr. Gandhi, her "price has risen from 5,000 rupees to 100,000 rupees in Uttar Pradesh." (Kanshi Ram explained that according to a U.P. custom, the people contribute a specific amount to their leader after a speech. Thus, the amount presented to a leader measures his or her popularity.)

When asked if it was appropriate for him to speak against Mr. Gandhi after getting the support of Mr. Gandhi's Congress Party, Kanshi Ram emphatically replied, "We did not ask for Congress Party to support us. It supported us on its own." Discussing the political

situation in Uttar Pradesh, Kanshi Ram said, "I have asked Chief Minister Mulayam Singh Yadav to show some results within six months. Of this time, four months have already passed. I hope that he will be able to perform better during the remaining months."

When asked if he was satisfied with the performance of Mulayam Singh's government, especially in the deteriorating law and order situation and brutalities on backward group, he said, "I do not think Mulayam Singh himself is happy with it." He alleged that the Congress Party, the Janata Dal, and the BJP have joined forces in Uttar Pradesh to make problems for Mulayam Singh's government.

Kanshi Ram said about Kerala that his party will focus on foundations at present and will not try to form any coalition with another party. He flatly said that he has no desire to form a coalition with the new party formed by K.R. Gauri who has defected from the CPM [Communist party-Marxist], because "She is tied to her Marxist philosophy." He added, "Mrs. Gauri has formed this new party for her own reasons. There is no ideology behind it. If she were not expelled from the CPM, she should have remained in it even now." He said, "After she has talked with the Social Justice Party that claims to support social justice and the Peoples Democratic Party about forming a coalition, then we can discuss that."

Strategy Viewed

94AS0246C Varanasi AJ in Hindi 16 Mar 94 p 6

[Article by Rajendra Dwivedi: "What is the Battle Plan of BSP Leadership?"]

[Text] The most discussed subject in political circles these days is: What does Kanshi Ram really want? Does he want the SP-BSP coalition government to serve its five years in the state or does he want to topple Mulayam Singh's government when he gets the opportunity and then hold mid-term elections? If we pay close attention to Kanshi Ram's speeches, we get the impression that he is committed to the government and, at the same time, is working against it. The politics of this state seems to be trapped in this web.

The BSP leaders seem to believe that it was their cooperation and support that helped make Mulayam Singh the chief minister of the state. No one can have any objection to their desire to live in this delusion. There are 67 BSP legislators now and [the party] is in the third position in the state. If we look at the pre-election climate and analyze it, it would not be inappropriate to say that while the BJP was trying to get back its old seats, the strong support was for Mulayam Singh. He had the support of farmers, students, the youth, minorities, and even traders. There were two reasons for this. First was Mulayam's clear plan. People generally believed that there was no difference between what he said and what he did. The second was that the voters who were disappointed with the BJP saw Mulayam Singh as the only alternative.

The Congress and Janata Dal leaders failed to win people's trust. The BSP already was working with the SP.

One quality of Mulayam Singh is that when he trusts someone, he trusts that person fully. He excuses all his crimes. Mulayam Singh also recognizes favors done for him. Whatever goals the BSP had in mind when it cooperated with Mulayam Singh, the important thing for Mulayam Singh is that this party helped him when he needed strong support. The cooperation between the two parties actually started during BJP rule when Kanshi Ram had run for Lok Sabha election from Itarsi, Mulayam Singh's home constituency. At that time, observers had said that Mulayam Singh had secretly endorsed Kanshi Ram instead of his own party's candidate for future political reasons. Kanshi Ram's efforts to become a lawmaker finally were successful and he began to shine like an important star in the political horizon. The SP-BSP coalition was formed later during the governor's rule in the state, and Mulayam Singh and Kanshi Ram addressed their joint rallies. As said earlier, this time around, Mulayam Singh let BSP candidates run from their desired election districts that included many areas of northeastern Uttar Pradesh. The SP workers and an influential group of backwards worked as hard to help BSP candidates win as they did for their own candidates in order to get their leader appointed to the highest position in the state. Mulayam Singh himself toured the whole state several times to glean support. In the end, the SP-BSP coalition won 175 seats and the BJP won 176 seats in the vidhan sabha. The Janata Dal, the Congress Party, and the communists fared very badly.

The comments that the BSP leaders and legislators made in public soon after the coalition government was formed, suddenly heated the political atmosphere in the state. This became a cause of concern for Mulayam Singh who favored socialism. Finally, Mulayam Singh had to announce in dozens of meetings and in the vidhan sabha that he is a socialist and did not support caste politics. He said that his goal was always to build the society and not break it. He believed in breaking up the caste system and building the social structure. He also had to repeat again and again that he was not the chief minister of SP-BSP coalition but of the 140 million people in the state. He believed that his first duty was to get justice for every group and would not let unfair treatment to anyone because of his or her caste. Mulayam Singh also tried to put salve on the wounds of the state's bureaucracy which was disgusted by the statements issued by BSP leaders.

The political dilemma for Mulayam Singh is that he is not in a position to say anything openly. He also tries to admonish BSP legislators and cabinet members as a good friend. At times, he becomes a prey of these legislators' mistakes. One such mistake was made by V.R. Verma when he presented the thank-you resolution at the end of the governor's speech. He made a comment on Govind Ballabh Pant, the first chief minister of the

state and great freedom fighter. Actually this comment was not his own; it was a statement made by Dr. Ambedkar.

This was what happened in the House. Outside the House, Ms. Mayavati, the national general secretary of the BSP, used the kind of language while talking to newsmen in Lucknow that not only hurt the feelings of the Congress Party but of the whole nation. She called Mahatma Gandhi, whom the people call Bapu [father] with love and devotion and whose love for scheduled castes and tribes is known to all, the greatest enemy of this group. Mayavati said that Mahatma Gandhi had insulted this group by giving them the name of Harijan and tried to undermine this group. She gave a strange reasoning in this context and asked if Gandhi liked the word Harijan so much then why did not he add the word Harijan to his name. She said that time was not far when Gandhism in this country will be replaced with "Ambedkarism."

Mayavati, just like her leader Kanshi Ram, attacked the state government in which her own party is also involved. She alleged that the BSP cabinet members were not allowed to function independently. What is more, she said, the minister did not have the authority to replace the officials in their departments. She also said that the chief minister must change his habit of forcing SP ministers on the BSP ministers. Mayavati said that most of her and Kanshi Ram's time is wasted listening to complaints made by the BSP legislators, ministers, and workers while the goal for the BSP is not just to have a government in this state but take control of the whole nation. At the same time, Mayavati also says that she is satisfied with the chief minister's work!

Mayavati's above statement perhaps is influenced by her leader Kanshi Ram's speech given in Allahabad. Kanshi Ram had openly expressed his anger at Mulayam Singh in his speech in Allahabad on 5 March. He said that the chief minister did not pay any heed to the BSP ministers and legislators. This had made the position of BSP ministers lower than the office peons (the BSP has no responsibility). Kanshi Ram openly said that if the promises that were made at the time of SP-BSP coalition were not followed up then this government will be uprooted. He said that he was not a follower of such a government. Perhaps, Mayavati had kept this in mind and told the newsmen that if Mulayam Singh did not change his attitude, it will not take much time to implement what Kanshi Ram had said in Allahabad.

The BSP leaders say two different things in the same breath. They criticize Mulayam Singh's style of administration and also express satisfaction at his achievements. Kanshi Ram also says that he will not let the Mulayam Singh government fall and that the coalition government will rule for full five years of its term. The most interesting aspect of this is that Mulayam Singh was present on the stage when Kanshi Ram had made that announcement in Allahabad.

The BSP people have a thick bundle of complaints against Mulayam Singh. They say that the BSP minister given district responsibilities have only one or two districts under them compared to five or six districts given to the SP ministers. The officials do not give as much serious attention to the BSP ministers as do they to the SP minister. They also say that the BSP ministers of state that are working with the SP cabinet level ministers have been given tasks that are done by deputy ministers.

The BSP believes that the Yadav caste has control over the backward votes, and the number of Kurmi voters is only slightly less than the Yadavs. Therefore, the BSP is looking at the voters in this group. Perhaps, that is why the BSP has appointed Kurmi caste persons to the positions of state general secretary and the legislative group leadership. The president of the BSP is Jang Bahadur Patel, its general secretary is Sonelal Patel, and the leader of the legislative group is Ramlakhan Verma. The Kurmi conferences have been held in Bareilly, Benares, and Sonbhadar districts. The BSP is planning similar conferences in other districts also.

It is not that Chief Minister Mulayam Singh is unaware of all these developments. He has given the responsibility to lure the Kurmi voters and officials to Beni Prasad Verma, the legislative program minister.

Another BSP action has become a subject of discussions in political circles. This action is related to criticism of top Congress Party leadership. This is not limited to former leaders; present leaders are also included in it. They have been attacking Prime Minister Narasimha Rao from the very beginning. It is a known fact that Congress legislators support the government and defend it from the sharp attacks by the BJP. Mayavati attacked Pramod Tiwari, the leader of this group, very strongly. This is neither timely nor an appropriate strategy for the coalition government that has the majority in the House because of the support from the Congress Party and the Janata Dal. It is especially wrong at a time when the budget session is in progress and the government had to struggle during each budget hearing.

We will see now what kind of shrewdness Mulayam Singh demonstrates in keeping the Congress Party with him. At the same time, the chief minister has to satisfy the BSP leaders, ministers, and legislators.

Communists Seen Unnerved by Casteist Politics

94P50123A Calcutta ANANDA BAZAR PATRIKA
in Bengali 1 Apr 94 p 4

[Article by Ashis Ghosh: "Caste Versus Class: Leftists Groping for a Response"; all quotation marks as published]

[Text] Now, finally, the communists have to stand up against the powerful casteist wave sweeping through the Hindi belt.

Over the last two or three years, Marxists have dismissed the casteist challenge in Uttar Pradesh [U.P.] and Bihar as class-based struggle. In light of India's history, which is more applicable; class struggle or struggle for social justice? The true nature of the communist-socialist struggle [in India] is before us now. What will it be, caste or class? What will laborers base their struggle on? Communists have rested content that this question has been answered. Now they have had to come back down onto the Maidan [open space in Calcutta where processions are held] to deal with this dispute all over again. Leftist theorists are going back to analysis and ledgers. They are shaking the dust off of the books of Ram Manohar Lohiya [communist intellectual].

Along with the casteist politics brought to U.P. by Kanshi Ram, Bihar's caste-based politics is also experiencing a wave. There are indications of a joining of forces of Dalits and OBC's [other backward castes]. The Yadavs have been holding gatherings; also, the Vaishyas and Kurmis. The Telis, Dangis, Rajputs, Chandras, Chammars, and Chaurisias are about to do the same. All in the name of caste! Now the Brahmins and Bhumihars are beginning to organize. Leaders, both government and private are attending these gatherings. These are not really political gatherings but caste assemblages! The recent Kurmi assemblage in Patna was very impressive and turned everyone's head. It was not just a show either. Here BJP [Bharatiya Janata Party], JD [Janata Dal], Congress (I) and CPI [Communist Party-India] leaders joined together, showing the force of the wind blowing through northern India.

By attempting to swim against the casteism current, Marxists are getting winded, just like BJP. They are both bewildered. Recent political developments have served to remind Hindutva advocates that there is no one basis or point on which to unite Hindu society. BJP has had to deemphasize Ayodhya in Bihar as they do not want to be known as a Brahmin or high-caste party. In order to attract Dalit and Tribal votes, BJP has begun to organize Rathis [processions] based on their respective traditions but without much success. The party is not too optimistic over the Sita Ram Keshari case decided in the Supreme Court.

Even if communist leaders are divided over the Mandal Commission, they have accepted the U.P. vote as an awakening of the Dalits. In a short time, two things have taken place; an escalating rivalry between the Dalits and higher castes (including OBC's) and Kanshi Ram's jihad against communists. His speeches are not mere rustic rhetoric either. The communists have been hostile towards social justice for a long time. A long time ago Lohiya wrote: "Let no one think that it is a matter of fighting the higher castes. In class struggle, when the capitalist system falls, caste problems will automatically disappear. The curse of the caste system is sustained by capitalism and class differences. Those who regard class struggle as inevitable and strive for a classless society have no regard for a caste-based society that thrives on differences."

Caste or class; this old socialist-communist dilemma has been stirred up again by Mulayam Singh, Kanshi Ram, and Lalu Yadav. Their cry for "Social Justice" has gradually spread over northern India. It will undoubtedly be an important issue in the next few elections. Economic issues have been downgraded in this call for social justice. Leftists are seeing whether or not these two issues can be combined. Senior CPI leader Chaturanan Mishra confessed, "We refuse to answer this question. Communists do not understand the necessity for agitation by lower castes." CPM [Communist Party India-Marxist] leader Ganesh Sankar Vidyarthi also confessed, "Caste conflict has put our party in a difficult position." CPI-ML [Communist Party-India Marxist-Leninist] recently held a gathering in Patna called "Social Change". CPI General Secretary Indrajit Gupta confessed: "Just concentrating on class conflict will get us nowhere. We need to focus on caste conflict."

The fall of the Soviet Union and China's about face [economically] has forced India's communists to look within. Domestically, while BJP's communal wave has subsided, the caste wave is still rising. Communists are being forced to contemplate the relevance of Marxist theory. CPI recently held a work retreat in Hyderabad in which the focus was "Caste's internal workings and the question of social justice in India." A study paper was published from this in which the following statement is found: "Caste-based politics began to escalate in the 1980's due to lack of economic progress. Leftists have neglected social and cultural issues. This is why caste politics have taken on a social theme." The leftists, while doing some soul searching, are still clinging to class struggle as the ultimate explanation. They want to change caste-based politics into class-based politics. Leftists are, of course, very weak in Hindi-speaking areas. Naxal leader Vinod Mishra fears this declining influence and hopes to quickly break Dalit enchantment with Kanshi Ram: "In Varanasi, Yadavs have clashed with Harijans and this will shake up BSP. Kanshi Ram cannot solve problems between backward castes and Harijans." Mishra feels unsure, however, whether disillusionment with Kanshi Ram will send Harijans toward the leftists camp or toward BJP!

Two years ago, leftists united in Bihar in a land seizure and redistribution campaign. This desperate attempt to instigate class struggle and elevate it over caste struggle was directionless and leaders were divided on strategy. Lalu Prasad refused to join hands with leftists despite threats and bribes. Instead, his party often took the side of landowners. Kanshi Ram refused to go to Harijan slums. In fact, Harijans did not get tickets to run for SP or BSP; businessmen did. All of these facts challenge leftist class assertions. They are not very strong in Hindi-speaking areas anyway. The new circumstances are causing them to resort to soul searching. Will the communists in India finally have to admit defeat?

Rising Prices Bring Halt in Cotton Exports*94AS0229N Madras THE HINDU in English 9 Feb 94 p 1*

[Text] New Delhi, Feb. 8—The Centre today decided to suspend exports of cotton with immediate effect in view of the continuing rise in prices despite adequate availability in the domestic market. Consequently, the exports of two lakh bales, for which contracts had been finalised, would not be allowed now. Earlier, the Government had stopped the exports of 1.3 lakh bales which had been released for export, but for which contracts had not been finalised.

Secondly, a credit squeeze is being planned by the Reserve Bank. It might order that no further advance be made against cotton stocks to traders and that those made earlier this year be recalled to make the trade sell the stock it holds. A final decision is yet to be taken.

The Government may also make it obligatory for manufacturers of cotton yarn to blend with it a minimum of 10 per cent viscose staple fibre. This is expected to depress the demand for cotton somewhat. There is also a move to make suitable adjustment in the excise and import duties on viscose staple fibre to make it available at a price comparable to that prevailing for cotton.

Besides, the Government has told mill owners that export of hank yarn too would be suspended if its prices were increased. All exporters of cotton yarn under the Advance Licencing Scheme may also be asked to import cotton first instead of doing so after the export of yarn. This would ensure that there were no exports without corresponding prior import of cotton.

The cotton control order is also being amended to enable the Textile Commissioner to impose stock limits on traders and ginners (including co-operative federations) and to inspect their premises for enforcement of the order. States are being urged to take immediate action against hoarders of cotton under the Essential Commodities Act and ensure adequate availability of hank yarn to weavers at reasonable prices. Cooperative federations are being told to accelerate the deliveries of cotton against the quantities sold and to desist from arbitrarily raising prices.

These decisions were taken at a meeting convened here by the Textiles Minister, Mr. G. Venkat Swamy, to review the cotton situation. It was noted at the meeting that the upward trend in prices of cotton had been continuing since mid-January, when the situation was reviewed last. This though various measures were taken to check prices, including the announcement that five lakh bales of cotton would be imported duty free. It was also felt that there was no real shortage of cotton in the current year with the crop estimated to be at least 125 lakh bales, though against the initial estimate was 135 lakh bales.

The total availability, taking into account the carry-over stock of 31 lakh bales and the import of about one lakh

bales under the Advance Licencing Scheme, would be 157 lakh bales. This should leave a balance of 30 lakh bales after meeting the domestic requirement.

PAKISTAN**Government Urged To Reject U.S. Aid, Dictates***94AS0248F Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 11 Mar 94 p 3*

[Editorial: "Principled Stand"]

[Text] Foreign Minister Sardar Asaf Ahmed Ali, Foreign Secretary Shaharyar Khan, and the Pakistan ambassador to the United States Maliha Lodhi met with Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto in Prime Minister's house on Tuesday and exchanged views on Pakistan-United States relations. The prime minister said that using the Pressler amendment to stop aid to Pakistan is an extreme action. Pakistan is opposed to this unfair action as this amendment should have been imposed upon India also.

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto has taken a principled stand. The allegations on which the aid to Pakistan was stopped were totally false. This was done just because of the Indian propaganda. The United States used it to deprive Pakistan of aid and loans. The greatest accusation against Pakistan was that it was involved in making nuclear weapons. However, it is clear now that Pakistan never had such a program. Pakistan had started the nuclear program to control the energy crisis, and this program has been frozen for several years. Meanwhile, India is making gradual progress in its nuclear program. It is involved in making missiles that can reach their targets thousands of miles away. It has increased the national defense budget by 20 percent to increase its military strength. However, the United States is not willing to impose any kind of restriction against it, and has given it full freedom to become the supreme power in this region. The second serious allegation against Pakistan is about providing aid to the Sikhs involved in the Khalistan movement in East Punjab. Threats to declare Pakistan a terrorist nation were being made under this allegation.

Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto, however, has unmasked these false accusations levied by India and the United States in a television interview with the BBC. Madam Bhutto's interview revealed that she had helped late Rajiv Gandhi control the Sikh movement in Punjab during her previous government. Had Pakistan not helped at that time, God knows where India would be now. Still, such is India's ungratefulness that it is bent upon condemning and hurting Pakistan.

The truth is that India just cannot tolerate Pakistan's existence, and the United States because of the Indian propaganda is also bent upon annoying Pakistan. The U.S. approach is totally wrong and prejudiced. There is no reason for stopping aid to Pakistan using the Pressler amendment. If the United States remains adamant then we should understand that it is blackmailing Pakistan

and wants to use it as a pawn in its international political chess game. However, it is a mistake and as this blackmail will not last long. Pakistan can survive and make progress without the U.S. aid. However, this is possible only if the pride of our nation is protected by a sincere, courageous and self-respecting leader.

Controversy Over F-16 Planes Viewed

94AS0248D Karachi JANG in Urdu 7 May 94 p 3

[Editorial: "Dispute Over F-16's Lease"]

[Text] The Pakistani government's decision not to give additional money before the F-16 planes are delivered is a step in the right direction. The company the government is dealing with has not responded to a letter requesting it to transfer the F-16 airplanes immediately to Pakistan as per the agreement. Pakistan has already paid the huge amount of \$680 million to this company, and this company has demanded payment of another \$150 million before March 1994. Pakistan, however, has taken the correct stand that the airplanes should be sent to Pakistan as per the agreement before the next installment is paid. The delivery of F-16 planes to Pakistan was stopped under the Pressler amendment using Pakistan's peaceful nuclear program as an excuse. It is unfortunate that the agreement to purchase F-16s was made in 1989 and the Pressler amendment was passed in 1990. On principle, an agreement made before the Pressler amendment should not be affected by it. However, as the result of the U.S. government's unfair and unprincipled stand, economic and military aid to Pakistan was suspended using the nuclear program as leverage to put pressure on Pakistan. This issue could not be resolved despite several high-level talks. The question arises, how long can Pakistan tolerate the situation where it has paid for, but cannot get the airplanes? At the same time, we are being asked to pay the other installments for the planes. The Pakistani government should raise this issue at all political and diplomatic levels with the U.S. government. It should also take legal action in U.S. courts so that either the money paid in advance is returned or the F-16 planes are supplied to Pakistan.

U.S. 'Jewish Commandos' Said Conducting Secret Operation

94AS0248E Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 9 Mar 94 p 3

[Editorial: "American Commandos' Secretive Activities"]

[Text] The activities of some U.S. soldiers participating in the Pakistan-U.S. joint military exercises appear to be secretive and suspicious. These include Jewish commandos who disappear for hours during these exercises and conduct surveys by going to Pakistan's nuclear center in Kahuta. It is surprising how these Jewish commandos manage to enter Kahuta where even a bird is not allowed to fly over. No one is there to stop them. This makes us suspect that the government has decided

to roll back its nuclear program and is not worried about it now. Mr. Nawaz Sharif as the opposition leader should also raise his voice against these mysterious activities of the U.S. commandos. However, he is silent. The nation would not have learned about it if Qazi Hussain Ahmed, the newly elected leader of Jamat-i Islami, had not revealed this information.

Chinese Designs on Kashmir Claimed

94AS0250C Peshawar MASHRIQ in Urdu 9 Mar 94 p 6

[Article by Kalim Akhtar: "Is China a Partner on the Kashmir Issue?"]

[Text] China has interests related to the hilly region around Kashmir. The military and geographical interest is very clear. The Kashmir region joins three countries geographically—Afghanistan, Pakistan, and China [as published]. The only surface route between China and Pakistan is the Karakoram highway which passes through the Northern Areas. This highway was inaugurated in 1978. This is the only route for China to access the Arabian Sea. China has built another road which joins Xinkiang with the western part of Tibet. This road passes the uninhabited region of Aksai Chin which is in the northeast of Ladakh. Although India still claims ownership of Aksai Chin, this has become a part of China and is very important for it from a military perspective because this is the only route between two Chinese provinces.

This rough but unbelievably beautiful region is very important for China and Pakistan for military reasons. China and Pakistan will have to depend on the Karakoram highway if there is a war with India to keep lines of communications and transportation between the two countries open. God forbid, but if the whole state of Jammu-Kashmir (which according to the United Nations includes the Northern Areas) is put under UN administration, this very important connection between China and Pakistan will be lost. Neither country would tolerate such a situation.

Historically, Gilgit, Nanada, and the Northern Areas including Jammu and Kashmir were considered very important areas between British India and China. The Nanda mountains is especially important for several reasons. In the 18th century, Nihatra had recognized Xinkiang as a tax-collecting power. They paid 15 ounces of gold dust annually to Xinkiang. In exchange they were permitted to use the grazing grounds in the Pamirs and Sikkim. There was no clear and permanent border with Xinkiang. This had become a tributary of Kashmir in the 19th century. Later, the maps of the British era show it as part of the Indian Subcontinent.

China is very interested in the Kashmir issue both from geographic and military viewpoints. It appears to be very active in at least two areas—Pakistan-China border issue and the Aksai Chin issue. The first situation was created by the 1963 Pakistan-China border agreement. The

document of the agreement was ready by February 1963 and it was formally signed in Beijing on 2 March 1963. At that time, China's borders around Gilgit and Balistan were not settled. One year before May 1962 when the Chinese government started serious discussions over the border with Pakistan, the tension between China and the Soviet Union had already increased. At that time it seemed that Gilgit was a point of contention between China and the Soviet Union. One Indian journalist had written about it in 1964.

Control of the whole area from Gilgit to the Pamirs could have proved dangerous to the Soviet Central Asia. Therefore, military interests forced the Soviet Union to support India on the Kashmir issue in order to keep its control on Gilgit. That way the United States could not establish a base against the Soviet Union there.

When discussions to determine the border between China and Pakistan started, an area covering 3400 square miles was undecided. China, however, showed unusual flexibility and generosity and Pakistan got 1350 square miles in the final decision which included 750 square miles of area under Chinese control. This agreement gave China 2050 square miles area which was already under its control. In addition, three-fourths of the Godon and Sainka hills area known as K-2 came under Pakistan's control. India was extremely furious at this agreement. It said that Pakistan has no right to such an agreement as this area is part of Jammu and Kashmir state and Jammu and Kashmir is an integral part of India. India also accused Pakistan of illegally occupying the Northern Areas. However, it has been made clear in Article 6 of the Pakistan-China agreement that the disputed character of Jammu and Kashmir should be kept in mind. This is the most important article of the agreement because this means that China must be involved in any future discussions about Jammu and Kashmir. China cannot be kept out. Article 6 of the agreement states: "Both countries agree that after the dispute between India and Pakistan is settled over Kashmir, the ruler of this region will hold talks all over again with the government of China and a new agreement will replace this agreement." China's direct interest in what is happening in Jammu and Kashmir is natural. The great interest of the United States (from behind the UN facade) in Jammu and Kashmir region is enough to make the Beijing government become alert and cautious. The Western power thinks that China is moving very cunningly when asking for new talks over the borders. Similarly, India and China's dispute over Aksai Chin is also the cause of a great interest for China in the Kashmir issue. Aksai Chin is a desert and an unpopulated region in the northeast region of Ladakh. At present it is under China's control. Its importance has increased because China has built a road in this area which unites its two border provinces—Xinkiang and Tibet. India still is adamant that Aksai Chin is a part of Jammu and Kashmir state. The British government in India had sent a proposal to Peking on 14 November 1899. In this note of 1899, the British Prime Minister Sir

Claude McDonald had said that the British government of India suggests that keeping in mind the forthcoming problems and uncertainties about the future, the British government desires decisions about the border between China and the British India. Thus, the 1899 note means that Aksai Chin region was accepted as part of China. Some changes occurred in 1905, however. The Aksai Chin region remained within China's Xinkiang province. In 1914, the British government included Aksai Chin in Tibetan maps very quietly. A conference was held in October 1913 between British India and China in Shimla. In this conference, the British government very cleverly expanded the western border of Tibet to prove that Aksai Chin was a part of Tibet. This was done to include Aksai Chin into British India at the right time. However, the Shimla conference failed and the map that was included in this conference does not now have any official status. Independent India all of a sudden showed Aksai Chin region part of India in its maps in 1954. Thus this record was prepared to prove that Aksai Chin was also an integral part of India. Then prime minister of India, the late Nehru, wrote to the Chinese Premier Zhou Enlai to claim India's ownership of Aksai Chin while erroneously referring to the 1899 agreement.

China, however, had completed a road between Xinkiang and Tibet in 1950. This road passed through Aksai Chin. India could not do anything about it except to make the whole affair more complicated. The Survey of India agency published maps of Jammu-Kashmir in 1952 to present them in the United Nations as the Kashmir issue was introduced in the United Nations at that time. These maps showed the Aksai Chin region as part of Jammu-Kashmir so that this become a part of the UN proceedings. This affair is still going on and the Aksai Chin affair is still there. Whenever the Kashmir issue is discussed in the United Nations, the important issue of Aksai Chin will also emerge because it is there on the Indian maps. At that time, China had to oppose it and become a party to this debate. India now claims that China is occupying 12000 square miles of its territory. This includes Aksai Chin and the areas that were given to Pakistan in the 1961 Pakistan-China agreement.

This situation is very interesting to our American friends, and unfortunately this is giving them plenty of material to start mischief. However, Pakistan is not unaware of this situation. China and Pakistan have a great responsibility for the people of Kashmir. Both countries have always supported the right of Kashmiri people for self-determination. The Security Council resolutions are for resolving the Kashmir issue. However, India is not moving even an inch, and had adopted an aggressive and belligerent attitude. This has endangered peace in this region. India and Pakistan have almost started a war in Siachen glacier region. India is spending billions of rupees daily in that place. That is why India wants to resolve the Siachen glacier issue separately in order to reduce its expenses there. This issue is related to Kashmir. India had crossed the Line of Control in 1984 and had thus torn the Shimla Agreement to shreds.

Therefore, this issue cannot be discussed separately with India. As for the border dispute between China and India, we have already given details about it. The truth is that any region around Jammu and Kashmir cannot be given to any country until the Kashmir issue is resolved. The government of Pakistan should take China into confidence and tell the international community that this state cannot be divided since it is waiting for a resolution in the Security Council. In our opinion, this is a very important point and deserves immediate attention.

Former ISI Director Claims Army's Existence Based on Kashmir

94AS0251A Karachi TAKBEER in Urdu 3 Mar 94
pp 23-25

[Article by Gen. Hamid Gul: "Kashmir Is the Main Reason for the Pakistan Army"]

[Text] When the independence movement started in Kashmir in 1990, India was not aware of its intensity, breadth, and depth. It did not have any idea about how it was going to spread and how strong it was going to become. Therefore, as the intensity of this movement began to surface, the daze felt by the Indian government and its various agencies began to show. We wanted to let India know that we are not only able to defend ourselves but also are able to take the war inside the enemy's territory. Thus, India has begun to understand that Pakistan wanted to resolve the Kashmir issue by the strength of its arms. Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto visited Muzaffarabad during those days and expressed her support for Kashmir's freedom struggle. She even said that her blood was going to join with the blood of Kashmiri people. The Indian policy-makers concluded that the government of Pakistan was ready to make a firm effort.

Robert Gates, director of the CIA, visited India and Pakistan during this time. He said that clouds of war were hovering here and there was the danger of a nuclear war. There was not really a clear danger of a war at that time, however, the United States was afraid that if a war was started and nuclear weapons were used, its vision of new world order would get a jolt. If we look at the background of these incidents, we have to agree that 1990 was a very good year for the Kashmir movement. We not only showed our strong allegiance to this struggle for freedom, but also succeeded in making the Indian government aware of how much sacrifice we were willing to make for this goal. The freedom fighters were working for the independence movement with full ardor, although a large number of them were getting killed. Still, the speed of the independence movement was fairly good. The most important accomplishment of the movement for independence was the destruction of India's communication system. Its information and intelligence system was totally destroyed, and the government system was forced to cooperate with the freedom fighters.

Foreign Pressure and the Nuclear Program

The year 1991 did not prove to be better for the independence movement because a cap was put on our nuclear program. India was worried by our nuclear program and its fear was reduced. It is obvious that when India learned that Pakistan has stopped work on its nuclear program, it started a new strategy.

It is proper here to briefly define three terms used in the context of the Pakistani nuclear program:

A. Freezing—It means keeping the technology related to nuclear weapon where it is now and not making any progress.

B. Capping—It means stopping enrichment of uranium.

C. Roll Back—It means destroying materials already prepared and ending the capability to make weapons.

Unfortunately, many political circles and persons admitted to putting a cap on the program. I oppose this as none of these political parties had received a mandate from the people. None of the parties had this included in their manifestos. Instead, all of them had promised protection of the nuclear program in their manifestos. However, they did not follow this after they got power and have admitted putting a cap on the program themselves. Why did they do that? Who gave them this right? If they supported democracy then why did they turn away from the mandate the people had given them? The people did not give them the permission. All of them admitted that they did it under foreign pressure.

Actually, the international powers had understood that they could control the impending war. They put on pressure which was accepted. India began to get signals in 1991 that we were not ready to go to war over the Kashmir issue. It was communicated by various means that Pakistan did not want to take the risk of a war over Kashmir. Governments make decision over national issues after a lot of thought as to what they should do and what they should not. It was not correct to give India the indication that we could not go to war. As the result of it, India moved its troops from other fronts and sent them to Kashmir. India could not have done this from a military perspective. It should not have taken a position which is termed as a military imbalance. It did that only after it got hints from Pakistan and then caused this military imbalance. India was obviously aware of our weakness, that is why it moved 550,000 troops to Kashmir. In my opinion this happened because of our weak policy. These 550,000 troops were brought into the valley against 3.5 million people in Kashmir.

One other result of our weak policy was that the young men who had come to Pakistan in 1990 after listening to Madam Benazir Bhutto's speech faced additional problems. The government of Pakistan did not provide them full support, and this gave them the wrong impression. As the result of this the movement did not spread outside the valley or at least did not spread as much as it should

have. In Jammu, except for in Mayurdoda, the movement did not make much progress. The pressure that should have been put on India was not there. The people of Poonch and other hill regions known for their military character did not join the movement. Our flaw was that we could not give a full message to Kashmiri people as to what we could do for them and how much we could help them. On the other hand, India gave them the message in an atrocious manner that no one could protect them from the bayonets of its soldiers and that their cries could not impress anyone. What affect was there on India of our making noise against its atrocities? Four years have passed, India has given permission neither to human rights organizations nor to Amnesty International to visit Kashmir. It did not allow any press reporter, either. Had Pakistan done that, it would have been in a major crisis. Still, Pakistan did not do anything and it was threatened with being called a terrorist state.

False Threats About Labeling Pakistan a Terrorist Nation

As for the affair about the threat of being labeled a terrorist nation, I have said repeatedly these were fake threats. They could never declare us a terrorist nation. First, they had to declare the Kashmiri people's freedom fight a terrorist action. They cannot do that because the Kashmiri freedom struggle is a valid movement from political, moral, and legal perspectives. All the laws in the world, and the UN rules and regulations declare it a valid freedom struggle. On the other hand, it is the Indian government that was involved in terrorism. Its armed forces can be called terrorists for their actions.

The people of Kashmir and the freedom fighters there are organizing their movement according to old and new laws in the world. They are struggling in their own region in a very civil manner. They did not blast any bomb in Indian territory. Contrary to it, India is terrorizing them in their own land. The people and the freedom fighters are peaceful. Their peacefulness is evident by the fact that they do not kidnap the women and children of their enemies. They do not burn them alive or amputate their hands and feet. In addition, the whole nation—the whole population—is with them. Did it ever happen that the whole population joined the terrorists?

The false threat of terrorism ended. It had to end one day. I do not know why were we afraid of it? However, we wasted a lot of time because of the fear of being labeled a terrorist nation. We did not do what we should have because of baseless fears. Many important things could not be done. That caused many problems and complexities. One of the biggest problem is that India, instead of accepting any demand, is once again trying to give the impression to the Kashmiri people that neither they nor Pakistan will find safety by internationalizing the issue. They have to accept Indian rule in the end. Now, India wants them to accept its two conditions. First, to accept the Line of Control as the border. Second, you will get whatever you ask for if you remain within the Indian Union. However, the Kashmiris know

that India did not fulfill its promises to them in the past. It forgot the UN resolutions as well as the promises that it made to the Kashmiris under Article 370. It had promised them their own prime minister, their own president, and their own flag. It tore these promises to shreds. India deceived Sheikh Abdullah with promises of friendship and then put him in a jail where he wasted many years. It is obvious that Kashmiris cannot trust India over anything, and Indian strategy cannot be successful now.

It is clear that under international pressure India will have to accept the fact that the Kashmiris will not stay with it any longer. Even the secular forces in the West are worried that the Kashmir region might become the center of an international Islamic struggle, and this dispute over land might change into a question of religion. They are especially worried about the Afghan Muslims coming this way after taking care of their own problems, and the spread of a desire among the Pakistani youth to fight for Kashmir. They are worried that the Muslims from all over the world might gather in Kashmir.

I am sure that the Muslims will come here if we invoke jihad. If Bin Baz, the chief justice of Saudi Arabia, can issue fatwa [edict] against Afghanistan's Rashid Dostam, it is possible that seeing the brutalities being committed on Kashmiris, he issues a fatwa for jihad here. Then Muslims from all over the world can be asked to participate in this jihad. India will be forced to accept some of our demands. We have to see what demands it will accept.

The Third Option

The idea of a third option is being floated around in the West. They are saying with great zeal that India also agrees to the third option. In my opinion, this third option is premature at this time. India has first to accept that Kashmir is a disputed region. It is necessary that the Kashmiri people agree on one strategy. They must be united on the demand to be free from Indian occupation and have an ideal government. When India is willing to leave Kashmir, then we can discuss another option. In my personal opinion, the people who talk about the third option are tearing up the UN resolutions. After it, getting a new resolution introduced and passed in the United Nations that is according to the wishes of Kashmiri people will be analogous to harnessing a lion. We should neither be deceived by the tricks played by any superpower, nor should we play any tricks ourselves. Those who say that it is important to use the third option in order to get Western support are wrong. First, it is contrary to Islamic principles to use deceit instead of talking openly. Even if we grant that the United States is honest with us and will be successful in liberating Kashmir, it still cannot be successful in liberating the whole of Kashmir or pressure India to do so.

The United States can neither do this nor it will want to regardless of its personal or strategic interests. The

reason is that all U.S. policies comply with Israel, and Israel considers India its favorite nation. Both these countries have mutual defense pacts which include agreement to transfer technology. Therefore, Israel considers India a very important country for its own goals.

If we work on the third option, the most we can achieve is freedom of the valley. The region of Jammu that is on this side of the Chenab will not be freed. Similarly, the people in Ladakh do not agree with the third option. It is not easy for India to give independence to Kashmir under the third option because it will have to give the option of independence to hundreds of states that were included in India according to the partition formula. It took over Hyderabad and Junagarh forcibly by organized military attacks. Now, if the third option is approved then the states that were forcibly included in India cannot be stopped from leaving India. The whole formula used for the partition will be voided. India will be even more affected by it as 15 separatist movements are already going on there.

ICO [Islamic Conference Organization] Meeting Should Be Called

Now the question is how to rectify the old mistakes and form an appropriate policy for the future. What immediate steps should be taken to really help the present Kashmir movement? In my opinion, the meeting of the ICO should be called immediately. This is not just Pakistan's problem; this is an international issue. We have seen the role the UN played in Bosnia. The United Nations is not able to play a role for the Muslims. It is futile to have any hope from the present UN leadership. Therefore, looking up to the United Nations would be useless. This will give India more time to take atrocious actions against the independence movement.

Similarly, negotiations under the Shimla Pact have also proved useless. The reason is that the Shimla Pact does not offer any basis for resolving the Kashmir issue. The pact is 22 years old and no talks were held on the Kashmir issue under it. Instead, this dispute can be resolved only if we hold a plebiscite within this framework. However, is the UN Security Council willing to take the initiative to hold a plebiscite according to its own resolutions? Not at all. Instead, Boutros-Ghali is talking about negotiations. The United Nations pays his salary to implement those resolutions. Therefore, at present the only viable course is to call the meeting of the ICO. I say that the United Nations and the Shimla Pact have failed in stopping the bloodshed in Kashmir. The emergency meeting of the ICO should be of the same nature as the one called in Islamabad after the Soviet attack on Afghanistan. The United States seems to be changing its thinking and will not have any objection to the calling of an ICO meeting. Iran had presented a resolution on Afghanistan. It would be better if another country proposes a resolution this time again.

Ideological Consensus

Factionalism and political unrest in Pakistan can be detrimental to the Kashmir movement. It is an encouraging development that the whole nation had united on 5 February and had told India that we are all united over the Kashmir issue and we will not allow India to shed our brothers' blood. However, the tug-of-war for power among the political parties again and again takes us away from the real issue. It is unfortunate that during the recent election, motorways and yellow cabs were made important issues, but Kashmir, on which our fate is hanging, was not made an election issue by any political party. If the present feeling persists among the people, we will keep drifting away from Kashmir. At present, it is important to assure all Kashmiris that all Pakistani people are with them with all their means.

It is extremely important for the Kashmiri people to develop ideological and philosophical consensus among themselves. They should understand it well that whenever any talks are started to move away from the UN resolutions, it will lead to the danger of division of Kashmir. If India can accept anything, then it is the division of Kashmir. As for divisions, India might have to implement this idea on itself. There are 160 million Muslims in India [as published] and India must give them a separate land for them to live on. This will lead to a division like that we saw in Yugoslavia and this will not be an ideological issue. Then we can ask India: If a few hundred thousand Dogras [Pandits] cannot live with the Muslims, how can you expect 160 million Muslims to live with the Hindus in India? If Hundreds of thousands of Hindus can live with dignity in Pakistan, why not the Dogras? In my opinion, India will be obliterated one day and Kashmir will become independent. When Khalistan is established, where will these Dogras go? It will be atrocious if they are cut off both from India and Kashmir. They will have no place to go. Therefore, the Dogras should take full part in Kashmir's struggle for independence.

Another question that is raised is: If Kashmir is taken out of India following the UN resolutions, what kind of relationship will it have with Pakistan? I do not think it is a major issue. It would be better if Kashmir makes some agreements with Pakistan. These agreements will be useful for Kashmir and enable it to benefit from Pakistan. It is in Pakistan's lap geographically. I do not think Kashmir should become another state in Pakistan. It will not be appropriate. It will not be safe from Pakistani administrative drawbacks, and it will not have the guarantees to protect its political, geographical, and economic identities for which it is fighting the jihad now.

The way Pakistani governments have shown their weakness and the way its people have shown their apathy have not given encouragement to Kashmir's independence movement. We cannot praise their courage and forbearance enough as they have kept their struggle alive. Still, because of the change in Indian military policy, the population in cities is facing innumerable problems. The

Indian military avenges the attacks on the people living in the cities. There is a limit to the patience of these people. The freedom fighters have to fight outside the cities according to guerilla war rules and make the Indian troops pay the price for being in cities. Instead of making noises about India, we should console the suffering Kashmiris. India says that it cannot free Kashmir because it will break up the nation. However, why should the blood of Kashmiris be used to protect India's unity? What kind of logic is this? We are not giving you freedom because it will break up our country! If India breaks up, let it be. India can tell us that Pakistan must be broken into many parts. Will we accept this demand?

What Should Be Our Policy?

Our assistance to Kashmir should be free of any weakness or flaw. We should not worry about India attacking us and or a war against us. India is in no position to start a war as it has a lot of its army tied up in Kashmir. Even if it decides to attack us, our armed forces are capable of dealing with it. We will make this war go on while India would try to decisively defeat us in a short period. This is not possible for India. We do not want a nuclear war. Instead, we have to prepare our soldiers.

We are engrossed in financial profits and our nationalist thought is limited. We have to look at the issues within the framework of group and personal interests. The main reason for our army's existence is defense of Kashmir because defense of Kashmir cannot be separated from defense of Pakistan—these are like two lives in one frame of body. The defense of Kashmir is the combined responsibility of us all, including the armed forces. The independence of Kashmir is our responsibility from moral, legal, geographical, and historical perspectives. If the Pakistani armed forces are sensitive to it, then it is according to the natural demands. India considers Kashmir an integral part of it without any moral or legal ground. We have thousands of such reasons which prove that Kashmir is Pakistan's indispensable part.

If the Pakistani government demonstrates helplessness or carelessness in this matter, we will have to wake up Pakistan urban centers, especially the people. If the major cities wake up over the Kashmir issue and are prepared to sacrifice their lives for their Kashmiri brothers, no government will be able to be careless. We must communicate the fact that Pakistan's existence depends on Kashmir's freedom to the people, especially those living in cities and are progressive and support status quo.

This is a very welcome development that there is a large number of youth in Pakistan that are strongly opposed to the Western imperialism. It is true that the power and technology of the West is superior to us, however, we have one thing that can make us proud and that is our allegiance to our faith. We can sacrifice our lives for our religion, which the West cannot do. Our ability to sacrifice our lives is our main strength and protection. Those who are proud of being secular despite being

Muslims should learn from the unfortunate situation in Bosnia. It is a must that the people of Pakistan unite over the issue of Kashmir. If we united then the Muslims in whole South Asia including those in India and Bangladesh will also support us jointly. However, first we have to be united ourselves.

Reconciliation Urged in Sindh

94AS0250A Karachi JASARAT in Urdu 10 Mar 94 p 3

[Article by S.A. Imam: "Plans To Divide Sindh?"]

[Text] Mr. Altaf Hussain, leader of the MQM [Mohajir Quami Movement], while addressing the convention of the Mohajir Rabita Council (Mehdood Group) directly from London by telephone, asked mohajir [immigrants from India at the time of partition] senior citizens why they established Pakistan. Did they establish it so that their mothers, sister, and daughters could be humiliated in public? Did they establish it so that the government officials would pull the beards of our elders [disrespect them] in public? He accused the Pakistani military and police personnel of committing atrocities on the mohajirs similar to those the Serbs were committing on Bosnian Muslims. He said in his speech that while the British controlled the sub-continent, they did not commit such atrocities on the Muslims as are being committed on mohajirs now. In his opinion, even Hindus during the Hindu-Muslim riots were not involved in such activities as the Pakistani military and police personnel are presently carrying out. The abominations and atrocious acts that Mr. Altaf Hussain recounted one after another in his speech are the forerunner of a major catastrophe that might occur. Perhaps he wants to make the mohajir youth rise against the armed forces. While spewing poison against the armed forces, he showed his skills in public speaking and uttered dirty obscenities against our military.

The real chairman of the MQM, Afaq Ahmed, has also expressed his opinion at times and is trying to bring the attention of older refugees and others to the state government's actions against recent refugees to make them "Red Indians" of Pakistan. Various actions such as in Maler district, Liari Development Authority, Manghu Pir, and Qasimabad district were based purely on ethnic consideration in order to distribute the Mohajir vote bank in Sindh in such a way that they cannot win any seats.

Professor Ghafur Ahmed, vice chairman of Jamaat-i Islami, said in a statement that a plan to divide Sindh on ethnic basis is being implemented, and the problem of law and order is being neglected. Even mohajir elders have started to openly express their opinion at various occasions that the mohajirs were being pushed against the wall. In this context, mohajir groups are planning strategies to protect their interests.

The Sindh government is accused of having a prejudiced mentality behind all of its actions. The establishment of Maler district was declared a mischievous act of a

prejudiced bureaucrat by Iqbal Yusuf, general secretary of the PPP [People's Party of Pakistan]. He said that he made this simple administrative act a disputed decision by establishing specific boundaries for this district. Abdullah Shah, chief minister of Sindh, had no part in deciding the boundaries of this district. Many actions such as the establishment of development agencies for Liari and Manghu Pir districts, moving the Karachi Medical and Dental College under the Sindh government's administration, distribution of medical college admission seats by districts, and transfer of some female doctors from Karachi to inner Sindh have provided some ethnic groups the opportunities to criticize the government. They are convinced that all these administrative actions were against the Mohajirs. The state chief minister, Parvez Ali Shah, and other government leaders have expressed the opinion that all these problems can be resolved by talks. Parvez Ali Shah had himself gone to Landhi Center to respond to the appeal for strike issued by MQM. He had talks with the leaders and had agreed on principle to establish a committee to continue these talks. However, we do not know which mysterious hand has stopped the progress of these talks and has put another block in the resolution of the city's problems by widening the chasm between these two groups. Parvez Ali Shah said that the MQM has shown a lack of patience and has closed the door to more negotiations by appealing for another strike. The leaders of the MQM, however, complain that the government has a policy of procrastination. Anyhow, this deadlock must be broken. Although the government has demonstrated goodwill by taking back the transfers of female doctors to inner Sindh and allocating medical college seats according to district residency, the responsibilities of the government are much more than this. It must take the initiative to end the ethnic prejudice. This government knows about it and Chief Minister Abdullah Shah has expressed this opinion while meeting with the Nawaz League, Jamaat-i-Islami, and Jumiat-i Ulema Pakistan's [JUP Niazi group] National Assembly members in Karachi. The talks and actions of the PPP state leadership indicate that they also want to take some serious action to resolve these problems. However, it appears that mischief perpetuated by prejudiced individuals prevails. The agents of some forces within the bureaucracy are continuously trying to foil the efforts of the democratic government. If we look at the situation from the national and international perspective we would find that Pakistan is going through a very critical phase. The international forces want to play some new games using the new world order. The goals of these forces are not achieved in a democratic government, and martial law could be imposed on this country again. This was hinted at by Pir Pagara's mysterious prophesy. Therefore, it is important that all patriotic politicians agree on the issue of national security and suggest ways to resolve the problem in Sindh including Karachi. If they unite, the biased forces that hatch conspiracies will be unsuccessful. Despite all their political differences, all of them should keep in mind that confrontations will not help anyone. Even after two world wars, the opposing groups had to resolve their

issue at the negotiation tables. Therefore, it would be appropriate and beneficial to take care of the Sindh issue by holding talks and not by fighting. Otherwise, people like Iltaf Hussain will present every government action in a negative light and will be successful in their goals, which perhaps is what the international imperialist powers want.

Counterfeit Dollars, Rupees Manufactured in Tribal Areas

94AS0248A Karachi JANG in Urdu 3 Mar 94 p 3

[Editorial: "Printing of Counterfeit Currency in Tribal Areas" all quotation marks as published]

[Text] According to one news report, U.S. intelligence, which has been investigating the circulation of 10 million U.S. dollars all over the world, has provided the federal Home Minister Nasirullah Babar some solid proofs of printing machines in operation in tribal areas printing U.S. and Pakistani currency. According to this report, paper for this purpose is imported from Hungary which is cleared in Peshawar's "dry port." It is believed that many influential persons are involved in this currency scandal.

It is not necessary to mention here the role counterfeit currency plays in destroying a country's economy. It was often heard in the past that some enemy nations through their notorious intelligence agencies were involved in printing counterfeit currency and spreading it in our tribal and border areas. Some individuals are said to be involved in this wicked trade in other parts of the country also. However, the information about large-scale and organized efforts to print U.S. and Pakistani currency that the U.S. intelligence agency has provided to our home ministry appears to be a major conspiracy to destroy our national economy. It is possible that some foreign hand is behind it. The government should immediately investigate this serious situation and take strict action against the involved people regardless of their position and influence. It should also inform the people of the results of this action so that they are aware of what progress has been made in this context.

Editorial Urges Continuation of Nuclear Technology

94AS0248B Karachi JANG in Urdu 20 Mar 94 p 3

[Editorial: "Pakistan's Principled Stand on Nuclear Technology"]

[Text] There is no doubt that the need to protect the world from the danger of a nuclear war is more important now than ever before. Pakistan has been an active supporter of this principle on humane grounds from the very beginning. However, as any intelligent person can understand, the only way to protect human civilization from the nuclear danger is to remove all nuclear weapons and related technology from the whole world. It is amazing that the United States and some other powers

are using threats, deceit, avarice, fraud, and other despicable methods against the countries that have this technology and whom they think are a danger to world peace. However, the countries that have the support of the United States and its allies are not checked and are allowed to have these destructive weapons as if they are toys. This attitude is totally atrocious, unfair, and extreme. It is especially used against Pakistan and other Islamic countries, North Korea, and other third world countries about which the United States and its allies for some reason do not have a good opinion. Let us reflect a bit. If India has a stockpile of nuclear weapons and Pakistan is stopped even from using this technology for peaceful uses, how can they guarantee making this region safe from nuclear dangers? This situation can help only make nuclear weapons available for unilateral expansionist designs. Had Japan had nuclear weapons, we can safely say that nuclear bombs would not have been dropped on its two highly populated cities. Therefore, seriousness and responsibility calls for the United States and its cohort nations to either totally end nuclear technology in the whole world or at least form a fair policy for controlling nuclear weapons in this region, instead of coming after the Pakistani nuclear program. If this is not done, then Pakistan has no reason to have its hands amputated and live at the mercy of a cruel country like India. Doing this would be more dangerous than signing one's own death sentence.

Military Expenditure Level Viewed

94AS0248C Karachi JANG in Urdu 12 Mar 94 p 3

[Editorial: "Federal Cabinet Defense Committee's Decisions"]

[Text] The Defense Committee of the federal cabinet under the chairmanship of Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto had an important meeting and decided that Pakistan will not reduce its defense budget, traditional weapons, or armed forces. The Defense Committee met for three hours and discussed the defense budget, the Kashmir resolution, Sindh operation, reinstatement of U.S. aid, purchasing important equipment for the army, navy, and the air force, the situation in Afghanistan, and the national defense and security.

All the issues discussed in the Defense Committee meeting are very important against the background of the regional and international political situation. However, national defense and an increase in our armed forces are priority issues because of the withdrawal of the resolution on human rights violations in Kashmir that was presented in the UN Human Rights Commission and the Indian reaction to it. The political and geographical situation of the region in which Pakistan is located,

especially the Kashmir dispute and the attitude of Indian government about it, does not allow any Pakistani government to even think about taking the risk of reducing our armed forces. Pakistan has always maintained that permanent peace in this region can be established if the Kashmir issue is resolved according to the UN resolutions. After it, bilateral discussions with India can be held to reduce military spending in both countries. However, No Pakistani government can take a step to ignore its national security just because the United States or some other country wants Pakistan to unilaterally sign the NPT or roll back its nuclear program. Neither can such a decision of a superpower be imposed on Pakistan.

After assurance by some friendly nations and seeing the stance of some member nations of the Human Rights Commission, Pakistan had postponed the resolution on human rights violation in occupied Kashmir by India. However, the Indian government reacted to it by refusing permission to Pakistani and Libyan ambassadors to visit occupied Kashmir. It has not permitted Amnesty International to visit occupied Kashmir to investigate the situation there. It even turned down offers by Iran and other countries to help with reconciliation over Kashmir. India announced this in response to the Iranian representative's statement in the United Nations offering to continue work on reconciliation over Kashmir. The Indian attitude shows that it is not willing to give any importance to the UN resolution and give up its customary rigidity over the Kashmir issue. Therefore, Pakistan has no alternative but to decide not to reduce its defense budget or reduce its armed forces. Instead, in the light of bitter experience of the past, Pakistan badly needs to improve its defense capabilities. The U.S. restrictions on weapons aid calls for us to focus on purchasing weapons from other countries and to use all our resources to strengthen our defense.

In the light of the situation described above, there is no room for disagreeing with the government's decision. The decision of the Defense Committee reflects the feelings of the people. Since these decisions are related to our national security and independence, it would not be inappropriate to expect the opposition parties to show their agreement with the government despite their political and ideological differences in the greater interests of the nation. These are the kind of affairs that require all national groups to show full cooperation and agreement. It is the duty of the government in this situation to soften its policies in order to get the opposition's cooperation and work with it. Efforts must be made to get the support and cooperation from all political groups. The cooperation of the government and the opposition will guarantee stability within our administration and the government will be able to confront the Indian situation with more confidence.

This is a U.S. Government publication. Its contents in no way represent the policies, views, or attitudes of the U.S. Government. Users of this publication may cite FBIS or JPRS provided they do so in a manner clearly identifying them as the secondary source.

Foreign Broadcast Information Service (FBIS) and Joint Publications Research Service (JPRS) publications contain political, military, economic, environmental, and sociological news, commentary, and other information, as well as scientific and technical data and reports. All information has been obtained from foreign radio and television broadcasts, news agency transmissions, newspapers, books, and periodicals. Items generally are processed from the first or best available sources. It should not be inferred that they have been disseminated only in the medium, in the language, or to the area indicated. Items from foreign language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed. Except for excluding certain diacritics, FBIS renders personal names and place-names in accordance with the romanization systems approved for U.S. Government publications by the U.S. Board of Geographic Names.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by FBIS/JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpts] in the first line of each item indicate how the information was processed from the original. Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear from the original source but have been supplied as appropriate to the context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by the source. Passages in boldface or italics are as published.

SUBSCRIPTION/PROCUREMENT INFORMATION

The FBIS DAILY REPORT contains current news and information and is published Monday through Friday in eight volumes: China, East Europe, Central Eurasia, East Asia, Near East & South Asia, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and West Europe. Supplements to the DAILY REPORTs may also be available periodically and will be distributed to regular DAILY REPORT subscribers. JPRS publications, which include approximately 50 regional, worldwide, and topical reports, generally contain less time-sensitive information and are published periodically.

Current DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are listed in *Government Reports Announcements* issued semimonthly by the National Technical Information Service (NTIS), 5285 Port Royal Road, Springfield, Virginia 22161 and the *Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications* issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

The public may subscribe to either hardcover or microfiche versions of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications through NTIS at the above address or by calling (703) 487-4630. Subscription rates will be

provided by NTIS upon request. Subscriptions are available outside the United States from NTIS or appointed foreign dealers. New subscribers should expect a 30-day delay in receipt of the first issue.

U.S. Government offices may obtain subscriptions to the DAILY REPORTs or JPRS publications (hardcover or microfiche) at no charge through their sponsoring organizations. For additional information or assistance, call FBIS, (202) 338-6735, or write to P.O. Box 2604, Washington, D.C. 20013. Department of Defense consumers are required to submit requests through appropriate command validation channels to DIA, RTS-2C, Washington, D.C. 20301. (Telephone: (202) 373-3771, Autovon: 243-3771.)

Back issues or single copies of the DAILY REPORTs and JPRS publications are not available. Both the DAILY REPORTs and the JPRS publications are on file for public reference at the Library of Congress and at many Federal Depository Libraries. Reference copies may also be seen at many public and university libraries throughout the United States.

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

17 JUNE 1994